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**Lessons still unlearned**  
Security personnel remove one of five hecklers arrested yesterday at the main memorial ceremony for Yitzhak Rabin at his Mt. Herzl graveside. *Stories, Page 2.*

## PM delays Wye implementation

PA due to present security paper today

By DANNA HARMAN

The Wye agreement does not go into effect today, as far as the government is concerned, because it has not yet been ratified, the prime minister's spokesman, Aviv Bushinsky, said yesterday. Washington apparently accepts Israel's position.

A US official said that, while technically implementation was meant to begin today, Israel's legal constraints regarding ratification are acceptable.

"Monday is a day like any other," Bushinsky said. "We don't regard this day as the beginning of anything. Until the agreement is ratified by the cabinet, it has no validity for us."

Bushinsky added that the Wye accord will be presented to the cabinet for ratification only tomorrow, with the understanding – and expectation – that the Palestinians will have presented their security working paper by that time. The Knesset, in turn, is to debate and vote on the agreement next week.

"We are not Israeli lawyers," the

US official said, "but if Israeli lawyers require it to be ratified... if Israeli law precludes implementation at this point... if they need an additional step, then we trust Prime Minister Netanyahu will take those steps expeditiously."

Chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat lashed out at

them the committee on the third redeployment and the trilateral security cooperation committee. In addition, permanent-status negotiations are to begin. All this, according to the agreement, in parallel with the presentation of the Palestinian security plan to the Americans.

While the security paper had yet to be delivered to the Americans, the US position is that the paper is expected today, and there is no reason to think the Palestinians would be late in its presentation.

A senior Palestinian source said last night, after Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat met with security chiefs, that the security plan would be handed in today on schedule.

Once received, the security working paper will be shared with certain Israeli officials, who need to approve it. Meanwhile, pending the delivery of the paper and the cabinet meeting, no committee meetings are scheduled for this week.

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Activists erect fence at Ras al-Amud, Page 3

Netanyahu. He told Reuters that it seems the prime minister "who signed the agreement vanished the moment he set foot in Israel... any amount of trust that was built was destroyed immediately."

According to the time line of the Wye Memorandum, the agreement comes into force 10 days from its signing – today – regardless of ratification.

During the first week of implementation, several committees are supposed to start meeting, among

## Hamas threatens to attack PA if crackdown continues

By MOHAMMED NAJIB and news agencies

The military wing of Hamas warned yesterday that a continuing crackdown on the movement may push some activists to turn their guns on the Palestinian Police.

More than 100 Hamas activists have been rounded up by the Palestinian Authority in recent days.

Until now, apparently in deference to PA Chairman Arafat's role as a symbol of Palestinian unity, Hamas had stopped short of issuing direct threats against him.

The warning, in a leaflet faxed to news agencies in the name of the Izzadin Kassam brigades, lashes out against what it calls the PA's "continued repressive measures" against Hamas.

Those actions, the statement said, "may push many of the sons of Hamas and its military wing, because of savage pressures, to reject abiding by the orders and guidance of their leaders and to direct their war and guns, out of necessity, against the authority's security apparatus."

It accused Arafat of having "reached the point of treason" by

moving against Hamas. It also called for an immediate end to the crackdown in order to spare Palestinians "the horrors... of civil war" and Arafat's camp the "fires of revenge."

The leaflet also denounced the house arrest of Hamas spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, calling him "the prince of holy warriors" and warned Palestinian security forces against pursuing Mohammed Deif, a top leader of Hamas' military wing whose arrest Israel is demanding.

See HAMAS, Page 2

## Iraq defiant in UN standoff

BAGHDAD (Reuters) – A defiant Iraq said yesterday it would not reconsider its decision to suspend all cooperation with UN arms inspectors until trade sanctions were lifted, leading the United States to threaten Baghdad with military retaliation.

Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said Baghdad would only budge on the issue if the stringent eight-year sanctions, imposed after Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, were removed.

"We are not afraid from threats or any other reaction," Aziz told reporters in the Iraqi capital. "If the Security Council rescinds its stand and decides to lift the embargo on Iraq, of course things will return to normal (but) if the council refuses to do so, we will stick to our decision," Aziz said.

In Washington, US Defense Secretary William Cohen warned Iraq it could face military attack if it "continues to flout" UN sanctions and warnings.

"I think everybody is getting weary of dealing with (Iraq President) Saddam Hussein," Cohen told reporters at Andrews Air Force Base after cutting short an Asian trip. He said Washington preferred that any action against Iraq be taken in

concert with the United Nations and allies. But he said unilateral US attack "has always been an option that we could pursue."

Aziz said Iraq was not seeking a military confrontation and was refusing cooperation to protect itself from American and Israeli spies.

"We are not gambling and we are not seeking confrontation," Aziz said in an interview with the Cable News Network.

Iraq's decision to cut off the inspections was immediately condemned by world leaders and led the UN Security Council, in an emergency meeting on Saturday, to demand that Baghdad end its non-cooperation "immediately and unconditionally."

But Baghdad wasted little time rejecting the order yesterday.

"We will not reverse our decision but we will maintain it until the embargo is lifted," Iraqi Vice-President Taha Yassin Ramadan told reporters. Russia, which traditionally has close ties with Iraq, said it was concerned and urged Baghdad to reconsider.

"We are counting on Baghdad scrupulously weighing up once more the negative consequences of this move which could seriously exacerbate the situation in the region anew," the Russian

## Official: Tax reform to be delayed

By DAVID ZEVI HARRIS

Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman's major overhaul of the tax system will not be introduced before his January 1 deadline, according to State Revenues head Tsipi Galyam.

Ministry sources added yesterday that they do not know when the legislation will be introduced, if at all.

"It's a real pity that it won't be [on time]; it will cause damage," Galyam said after addressing the

is funding this cut, with many interested groups already lobbying hard against possible reductions in tax exemptions.

Galyam admitted yesterday to MKs that of the NIS 10-11 billion price tag attached to the reform, less than half will come from exemptions, leaving a question mark over the remaining funding.

MKs left the meeting saying Galyam told them the money would be generated as a result of increased economic growth.

"That's simply a joke; we don't know when there'll be growth," said Haim Oron (Meretz).

Asked by reporters why there was a delay in implementing the tax reform and when it would be introduced, Income Tax Commissioner Doron Levy failed to answer, stating that Neeman is currently dealing personally with all aspects of the reform.

On Thursday Neeman told the committee he is not prepared to introduce the reform on a piecemeal basis but will present the proposed legislation when all elements of the package are ready, including the funding of the tax cut.

The proposed 35% top tax bracket will only be reached gradually over three years. In the first year, the cut will be to some 40%-42%, according to Galyam, or NIS 7b.

**Tax commissioner: Property-related taxes down 15%, Page 17**

Knesset Finance Committee yesterday.

She explained that the main aim of the reform is to bring about renewed economic growth, hinting that any delay in the program's implementation will lead to a continuation of the present slowdown.

The main aim of the proposals is to reduce the upper income tax bracket from 60 percent, including national insurance and health payments, to 35%, Galyam said.

The problem for the government

## Calling Hamas's bluff

Hamas's threat to attack the Palestinian Authority if the current crackdown continues may be a turning point, but is by no means unprecedented.

During previous waves of arrests by the Palestinian Police following Hamas attacks against Israel or after clashes between the two Palestinian groups, similar warnings have been issued. To date, none has been implemented.

There is good reason to believe that this latest challenge is in large part a bluff. Hamas has always maintained that it would

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never set off a Palestinian civil war by fighting the PA. Publicly, Hamas maintains that such a confrontation would only benefit Israel. But that's not its only motive in trying to maintain decent relations with PA Chairman Yasser Arafat.

Hamas is well aware that any violent action against the PA

would seriously undermine its base of support. The Palestinians always have greatly feared civil war, remembering how factional strife was so disastrous for their cause in the 1930s. Were it to make such a move, Hamas would be seen as dividing the Palestinian people instead of "patriotically" fighting Israel. Its popularity would plummet.

The second reason for Hamas's reluctance to use violence is fear of the PA itself.

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## Jerusalem race underscores changing realities of Israeli politics

By ELLI WOHLGELERNTER and AMY KLEIN

If politics is Israel's favorite spectator sport, then Jerusalem fans of this year's topsy-turvy election races had better bring a scorecard. There are many new teams out there – 24 in total – with some players looking oddly out of place in the uniforms of their one-time rivals.

Take the incumbent and front-runner Mayor Ehud Olmert, for instance. A diehard Likudnik since first entering the Knesset in 1974 – he is, in fact, the longest-serving Likud member – Olmert worked out a deal over the summer to form a joint list with rene-

gades from the local Labor Party to widen his coalition.

A merger once thought taboo, it exposed Olmert's pragmatic view of the shifting political map.

"We have to understand that the realities of Israeli politics are changing," he said two weeks ago. "They are becoming entirely different, and we have to address ourselves to these changing circumstances."

If this mid-season deal with Labor seemed unimaginable, it was no less so than the cheerleading list received from none other than the quintessential Laborite, Shimon Peres, the longest-serving active Knesset member of all.

"The Labor Party is on our side on the major issues of Jerusalem," said the mayor, who is running on the campaign slogan, "Jerusalem is stronger with Olmert," and touts the new roads and classrooms he has built in his five-year term.

His United Jerusalem list (ballot code Lamed Bet) includes former police inspector-general Rafi Peled, now general-manager of the Israel Electric Corporation, deputy mayor Yigal Amedi, and Labor's former local secretary, Haim Cohen.

Olmert's list has left the local Likud Party leaders as mad as their Labor counterparts – especially party head Ehud Barak – and they weren't going to take it. At the behest of Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, the Likud formed its own list (Heh Lamed), headed by Yossi Afeka and including Itzik Koyfman, Moshe Cohen, and David Amar, running on the theme that they are the real Likud and upholders of the party's platform to keep Jerusalem strong. They were, however, turned down by the party in their request to use the time-honored Likud designation of Mem Het Lamed.

Barak, meanwhile, was certainly



not going to support a unity coalition promoted by arch-rival Peres, so he threw his support behind Shimon Shetreet, who is challenging Olmert on former mayor Teddy Kollek's One Jerusalem (Yod Alef) ticket.

Running on a platform of creating housing, education, and employment opportunities to stop residents from leaving the capital, One Jerusalem also opposes what it calls the disproportionate haredi influence. "We are not going to let a minority run this city," says Shetreet. The list includes Shimon Nir, deputy director general of

Bank Yahav; Shimon Ben Hamo, head of the Jerusalem region of the Histadrut; city council member Nurit Yardeni Levy; and Avi Balashnikov, senior aide to Minister of Internal Security Avigdor Kahalani.

In response to criticism that Shetreet is anti-religious, One Jerusalem is running ads in haredi and other publications outlining his activities that have supported religion.

"I am a traditional man, my argument with Olmert is political and not about faith!" the ad reads.

Two who are running for mayor on an anti-haredi-influence campaign are Meretz candidate MK Naomi Chazan and former Meretz member Oman Yekutieli. Chazan took over as the party's official candidate for mayor and head of its municipal slate when Yekutieli, the Jerusalem branch's leader for the past 10 years, resigned.

Yekutieli, a main voice in oppo-

sition to Olmert's coalition in the last council, felt that a non-partisan list was Meretz's only chance to pick up more council seats. When his party didn't agree, Yekutieli surprised them and quit, a political decision that has many scratching their heads.

"Someone who is the head of a party with millions of shekels of financial and electoral support would have to be an idiot to resign, unless he thought it was the right thing to do," Yekutieli said.

His Jerusalem Now list (Zayin Heh), which includes educators Ofra Meirson (wife of Agriculture and Environment Minister Rafael Eitan) and Roni Aloni, pledges to fight against corruption and against haredi domination. "Now is the fight for Jerusalem and only now," says Yekutieli. "If we don't do it now, people will leave Jerusalem. This is the last time that voters are choosing a way of

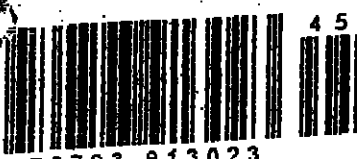
life."

Chazan's Meretz list (Mem Resh Tzadi), which includes Yosef Alalo, head of the party's local branch, and city council member Anat Hoffman, promises to fight religious coercion and support religious pluralism, foster equality between Arabs and Jews, and increase employment opportunities to prevent people from leaving the city.

Not to be outdone by the Likud, Labor, and Meretz, the city's Arab residents – who for 31 years have for the most part not even voted – are putting up two candidates for mayor.

One is Mussa Alayan, a Beit Safafa insurance agent running on the Independent Arab List (Kuf Pe) who is promoting equality, justice, reducing city property tax and improving services in the Arab sector.

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## NEWS

in brief

## Territories closure to be eased today

Restrictions on the number of Palestinian laborers allowed in the country are to be lifted this morning. Defense officials said the move comes in response to the suppression of Hamas activists by the PA, which has reduced the threat of attacks. As of this morning, any married Palestinian over 22 who has a security clearance will be given a work permit. Some 24,000 have been allowed in until now and it is expected that over 60,000 Palestinian workers will quickly take advantage of the labor permits – in addition to tens of thousands of Arab workers suspected of sneaking in daily. Some 21,000 merchants are also to be allowed in. *Arieh O'Sullivan*

## Palestinian suspects held for Driben murder

Security forces yesterday arrested several Palestinians suspected of murdering Dov Driben of Maon in the Hebron Hills in April. The suspects are from the Dabasa clan in the village of Yatta. *Itim*

## Court hears non-Orthodox bid for councils

The High Court of Justice is today to hear a petition to immediately seat Reform and Conservative representatives on the religious councils of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Kiryat Tivon, and Arad. The petition, submitted by the Reform Movement's Israel Religious Action Center on behalf of Meretz, asserts that the Ministerial Committee on Religious Councils used irrelevant criteria in rejecting all the non-Orthodox candidates which Meretz had nominated. *Haim Shapiro*

## Youths reported stoning cars near airport

Police arrested a 12-year-old boy from Kfar Habad yesterday on suspicion of stoning cars on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv Highway near Ben-Gurion Airport, lightly damaging one car. The boy said he had two accomplices, aged 13. *Itim*

## Police: Convict Shuafat project initiators

Police recommended yesterday that a number of those involved in the Shuafat Ridge building project be charged with fraud after completing an investigation into the project. Police are to pass their investigation on to the Attorney General's Office today. The Shuafat Ridge project originally was approved by the Housing Ministry and the Jerusalem Municipality for needy hardy families, but many units allegedly went to those who did not meet the criteria. Most of the building and marketing was done between 1992 and 1996. *Itim*

## 10-year-old killed while riding his bicycle

A 10-year-old boy was struck and killed yesterday by a car while riding his bicycle in Rishon LeZion's industrial zone. Magen David Adom medics tried in vain to resuscitate him and a doctor pronounced him dead at the scene on Rehov Abraham Bar. In the Nazareth area, a woman driver was killed and two people were injured in a head-on collision between a private vehicle and a bus near the Alonim junction. The woman was pronounced dead at the scene, while the other victims were taken to Rambam Hospital in Haifa. In Ashdod, a construction worker was killed and another was injured when a glass panel collapsed. *Itim*

## ANALYSIS

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Hamas leaders know that Arafat could crush them collectively and – even more pointedly – individually if they challenged him. Of course, such a clash would have tremendous costs and Arafat prefers either to coexist with Hamas as he has done for the last five years or, even better, coopt its supporters into his government. If he has no choice, though, he will suppress the group, at least in terms of its ability to act as an above-ground political and social movement.

On several occasions, most notably in October 1995, Arafat came close to making a deal with Hamas, in which it would cease carrying out terrorist attacks in exchange for a share of power. While some Hamas leaders favored this option, they were overruled. Hamas's outrage at the Wye agreement is not surprising. More than any other accord in the peace process's history, this one is directed directly against Hamas and other radical groups. For the

first time, there is a direct linkage between attacks on Israel and progress in negotiations.

In brief, the message of Wye can be expressed like this: If the PA does not get more territory, prisoner releases, safe passage, and other gains, the fault lies directly with Hamas and other extremists. The Palestinians will know whom to blame.

Of course, many of them will blame Israel instead. Hamas, as always, will try to wreck this agreement with more terrorist attacks. Whether these succeed is not completely in Arafat's hands, but he can make life miserable for Hamas and elicit a high price for continued violence.

Despite their bluster, many of the Hamas leaders and members are afraid of Arafat. Arafat also has a mandate to fulfill his commitments and to move forward again. Otherwise, the negotiations will remain deadlocked. So far, he has called Hamas's bluff, and the group is far more likely to give in than to rebel against him.

Barry Rubin is a senior resident scholar at the BESA Center for Strategic Studies.

## Hecklers arrested at Rabin memorial

By ELI WOHLGELER

Five persons were arrested yesterday for heckling Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu at the state memorial ceremony for Yitzhak Rabin, on the third anniversary of his assassination.

"He incited, he incited to murder," several people shouted at Netanyahu in the silence of the service, as he lay a wreath on Rabin's Mt. Herzl grave. It was the first time the annual observance was disturbed by hecklers.

The 30-minute service, with Rabin's family sitting in the first row, was attended by most cabinet members, religious leaders, and dignitaries. They heard speeches by Rabin's daughter, Dalia Feloosoff, and former chief of staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak.

"We were not there, all of us, to protect him," said Lipkin-Shahak. "I'm sorry Yitzhak, sorry we did not understand what we saw. Sorry we did not believe that this can happen here. Sorry that we did not surround you with walls of armed guards. And sorry that till today there are some among us who are not able to ask for your forgiveness."

He said that there is no place in Israeli society for extremism, from either side, and that the extremists are a minority that blackens the majority.

"We shouldn't let them have a foothold in our lives," Lipkin-Shahak said. "And while we are standing opposite Rabin's grave, here in this place, we should feel that there is no place for tolerance and understanding of racism, violence, and blind fanaticism. We

have to respond with a strong hand, uncompromising, against the margins of society."

Pelosoff said her father would be remembered "as long as we breathe – we will stand here and in every place, we will stand together and not allow it to be forgotten, that you were the one who won due to strength and courage... only you with the courage of a real general, an officer and a gentleman, a commander and a friend, a man of deeds, not a man of high words."

The ceremony concluded with the laying of wreaths by Rabin's grave. Throughout the country, flags were lowered to half-mast, and at schools throughout the country, memorial ceremonies were held and discussions took place on the meaning of Rabin's life and legacy. Radio and television channels also broad-

cast documentaries and discussions about the slain prime minister.

Israel Radio reported last night that arsonists had torched a car owned by the parents of Rabin's assassin, Yigal Amir.

At Beit Hanassi, President Ezer Weizman lit a memorial candle to begin the day of remembrance, and warned that the lessons of Rabin's assassination had not been learned.

"Could it happen again? I regret to say that lately there are signs that the answer is not necessarily a no," he said.

Batsheva Tsor adds: Weizman also took pains to make amends for his eulogy at Rabin's funeral, which had angered his widow, Leah.

"Yitzhak Rabin's image has not for one minute left our national memory nor the personal memory

of every one of us," Weizman said. "I knew Yitzhak well; we travelled a long way together. Beyond our differences in temperament and occasionally in opinion, we were partners to a great challenge... The ability to leap over the chasm of the past in order to extend a hand to peace, to the future, was a sign of what Yitzhak was – a leader."

"Dear Leah, when you asked me to light a candle here in Yitzhak's memory today, I saw this not only as an obligation but as a privilege."

Leah Rabin had been angered when Weizman said in his funeral address that he and Rabin "ate something together here and there, had a drink together." She agreed to make her peace with Weizman when she attended the jubilee celebrations at Beit Hanassi in May.



Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu addresses the Knesset during its memorial session for Yitzhak Rabin yesterday. (AP)

## Amnon Lipkin-Shahak – Rabin's successor?

## ANALYSIS

Strangely, perhaps even eerily, yesterday's graveside memorial for slain prime minister Yitzhak Rabin may have marked former chief of staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak's entry into the political fray. This was never announced outright, but it is the unequivocal impression political observers came away with.

The first indicator was that Leah Rabin insisted that Shahak deliver the only address at the graveside.

Experienced Labor political hands maintain that this is not something which should be lightly dismissed, but a move to which considerable political significance should be ascribed. They argue that, like it or not, Rabin considers herself a Labor kingmaker.

Many recall her warm endorsement of Labor chairman Ehud Barak, on the eve of the battle for the party leadership in 1997. She all but crowned Barak and placed her husband's mantle upon his shoulders. She declared that he was the man the late prime minister would have chosen to succeed himself.

Of late, according to wagging Labor tongues, she has grown cool to Barak, chiefly because to her mind he has failed to take off politically and to constitute a potent threat to the man she hates most: Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu.

By singling Shahak out yesterday, she may have given him her nod. Note Rabin's warm words of praise for Shahak upon leaving the Knesset yesterday. She spoke about him at length and only mentioned Barak once, as an afterthought or lip service.

The second indicator was included in Shahak's speech. It was a single phrase which might have been a sharpened barb aimed directly and deliberately at Netanyahu. This barb, according to some Labor quarters, may have been inserted at Rabin's suggestion. It may, of course, have been Shahak's own contribution to the ceremony. After all, he also has a small account to settle with Netanyahu, culminating in the prime minister's quip not long ago to the effect that "Shahak's natural place is in the Left."

Shahak yesterday contended that "there are those who are still unable to apologize for the incitement that preceded the assassination. This could have been a vague reference to the far Right, but more than likely, Netanyahu was his target."

This would not be the first time Netanyahu is thus accused and

those who hurled abuse at him during the wreath-laying ceremony yesterday gave expression to this sentiment.

In the same vein are the newspaper ads which annually accost Netanyahu with the biblical rhetorical question: "Have you murdered and inherited too?"

This is something that will haunt Netanyahu – justly or not – each year. And because mud – deservedly or not – sticks, each year Netanyahu will have to remind the public, as he did yesterday, that before the assassination he "repeatedly appealed to demonstrators not to call Rabin a traitor. I stressed he was a political opponent, but not a traitor."

But if any doubt remains about whom Shahak aimed at, Leah Rabin's comments in the Knesset may clear that up too. Only a short time after Shahak spoke, she forcefully reiterated her determination never to forgive Netanyahu for what she alleges was incitement to murder and for his ongoing criticism of the Oslo accords.

Netanyahu, she has been claiming for three years, has yet to apologize. Shahak may have been echoing her yesterday, and when he did so he made his first moves on the political stage and placed himself in direct opposition to Netanyahu and just where Netanyahu asserted that he belongs – on the Left.

## Nation's rifts still evident at Knesset memorial

By NINA GILBERT

The nation's leaders tried to send a message of unity from the memorial session for Yitzhak Rabin in the Knesset yesterday, but their words could not overcome the political divide.

"I hope and pray that we can extend a hand to one another and together put out the flame of hatred, without blurring our differences. This, because peace is made first between brothers," Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu told the session. It was attended by members of the Rabin family, government ministers, present and former MKs, members of the diplomatic corps, Supreme Court President Aharon Barak, and the nation's chief rabbis and religious leaders.

Netanyahu noted that "it is no secret that I did not agree with Yitzhak Rabin on the Oslo Accords, and also that we went in different ways." He said the government is trying to change the path "for the good of the state of Israel – this means the agreement that we inherited, and within the framework of the agreement."

But Netanyahu said this is "an argument about the path, not about the goal, as the aim to achieve a lasting peace and a better future for our us and our children unifies us all, even if there is not agreement over how to reach the joint aim."

Netanyahu emphasized that it is forbidden to allow violence of any kind to enter the political debate. At the same time, he said that an entire public should not be marked because of the actions of an individual murderer.

After the session, Leah Rabin went to the office of Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon for a private meeting with her family, also attended by President Ezer Weizman. She attacked

Netanyahu when asked by reporters if the prime minister should have asked for forgiveness, saying that "there is no need to ask for forgiveness while the Right is smearing the Rabin government about the terrible agreement they inherited. Everything is blamed on the previous government."

In his speech to the plenum, Labor Party leader Ehud Barak said the first lesson that should be learned about Rabin's assassination is that "words can kill."

"Traitor, death, and blood cannot be a part of a legitimate democratic debate," he said. "Today, we are calling for an immediate end to all incitement against the prime minister."

Barak said there are many voices today that are trying to hint that Rabin failed, and a better path was found, but "this won't change a basic fact: that this path is your path."

"We have serious differences with the present government... but this is not the time or the place to emphasize those differences," Barak noted. "But in the place where you led, we are working to achieve your vision: the unity of one people under a responsible and credible government."

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid delivered an emotional speech, referring to Rabin as the "most living deceased person among us and in the history of this country."

Rabin did not need a safety net from the opposition, he continued, "because he was the security and his safety net was the personal responsibility for the future of the Jewish people and the fate of the State of Israel." He accused the government of both claiming and rejecting Oslo.

In response, Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi bolted from his seat and left the plenum, followed by Likud MK Uzi Landau.

## Remembering a horrible night

By SHI DAVID

On the night of November 4, 1995, Eitan Haber had the job of announcing a national tragedy.

"The government of Israel announces with astonishment and deep sorrow the death of Prime Minister and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who was murdered by an assassin tonight in Tel Aviv," the former director-general of the Prime Minister's Office told the

country outside Ichilov Hospital. Three years later the same type of ugly incitement that led to Rabin's assassination has resurfaced following the signing of the Wye agreement.

This time, the cries of traitor are being hurled at Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and posters now depict his face in a blood-red keffiyeh.

"In terms of violent incitement we haven't learned a thing," Haber said.

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of our mother and grandmother

## IRENE DARDICK

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Freya and Les Krieger and children

Judi and James Jorgensen and children

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Paul Morawetz and his family

on the passing of his dear wife

## DITA

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## IAN WISEMAN

Wife: Gina Wiseman

Sister: Devora (Wiseman) Ben-Gedalyahu

The funeral took place on November 1.

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## "GOLDEN AGE"

which also appear in the Jerusalem Post International edition on the 14th December.

To advertise in the above, please contact Smadar Ratinsky Tel: 03-6390333 Fax: 03-6390277

## Sharansky fails to win Wye support from settlers, rabbis

By SARAH HONIG

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky strove hard yesterday to convince representatives of Hebron's settlers that the Wye agreement is very different from the Hebron agreement.

His meeting with the settlers came hot on the heels of a meeting he held late Saturday with the National Religious Party's spiritual leaders - former chief rabbis Avraham Shapira and Mordechai Eliyahu - in which each side attempted unsuccessfully to change the other's position on the Wye Memorandum.

Sharansky, one of the negotiators at Wye, was visited in his office yesterday by Rabbi Hillel Horowitz, Noam Arnon, and Irit Struk of Hebron for a meeting later described as "a difficult encounter." The settlers contended that the Israeli negotiators are deluding themselves if they think the Arab side will honor its undertaking. They pointed to the Hebron agreement and noted that prior to it they had warned it would encourage terror. They asserted that recent events bore out their worst fears.

Sharansky's interlocutors also charged that the Israeli side allowed itself to fall into a trap

and said they were especially astonished that Sharansky, who could stand up to the cruelest Soviet pressure, caved in to the Americans.

Sharansky replied that "the pressure in this case did not come from a foreign power, but from inside this nation." He added that the "the Wye agreement is constructed in a completely different manner from the Hebron agreement. Here every move is hinged on another. There is clear linkage between what the PA does and what it gets. If it does not keep its side of the bargain, it will get nothing."

The settlers left unpersuaded, as did Sharansky when he left Shapira's home in the early hours of yesterday morning, without having swayed the NRP's rabbis or being won over by them either.

Sharansky, who has been conversing with the two rabbis for years, told them "the Wye Memorandum was unavoidable, because we inherited the Oslo agreement and had to keep it. What we negotiated at Wye is the lesser of the possible evils."

Sharansky opined that the "best solution would be a national unity government, because fateful decisions had better rely on the broadest possible national consensus."

## Activists erect fence at Ras al-Amud

By ELI WOHLGELER

Ateret Cohanim activists erected a barbed-wire fence around its controversial site in Jerusalem's Ras al-Amud neighborhood in the pre-dawn hours yesterday, with the government giving its approval and Peace Now activists demonstrating their objections.

Three activists were arrested after chaining themselves to a tractor on the site.

Faisal Hussaini, the senior PLO official in Jerusalem, called the construction illegal according to both the Oslo and Wye agreements.

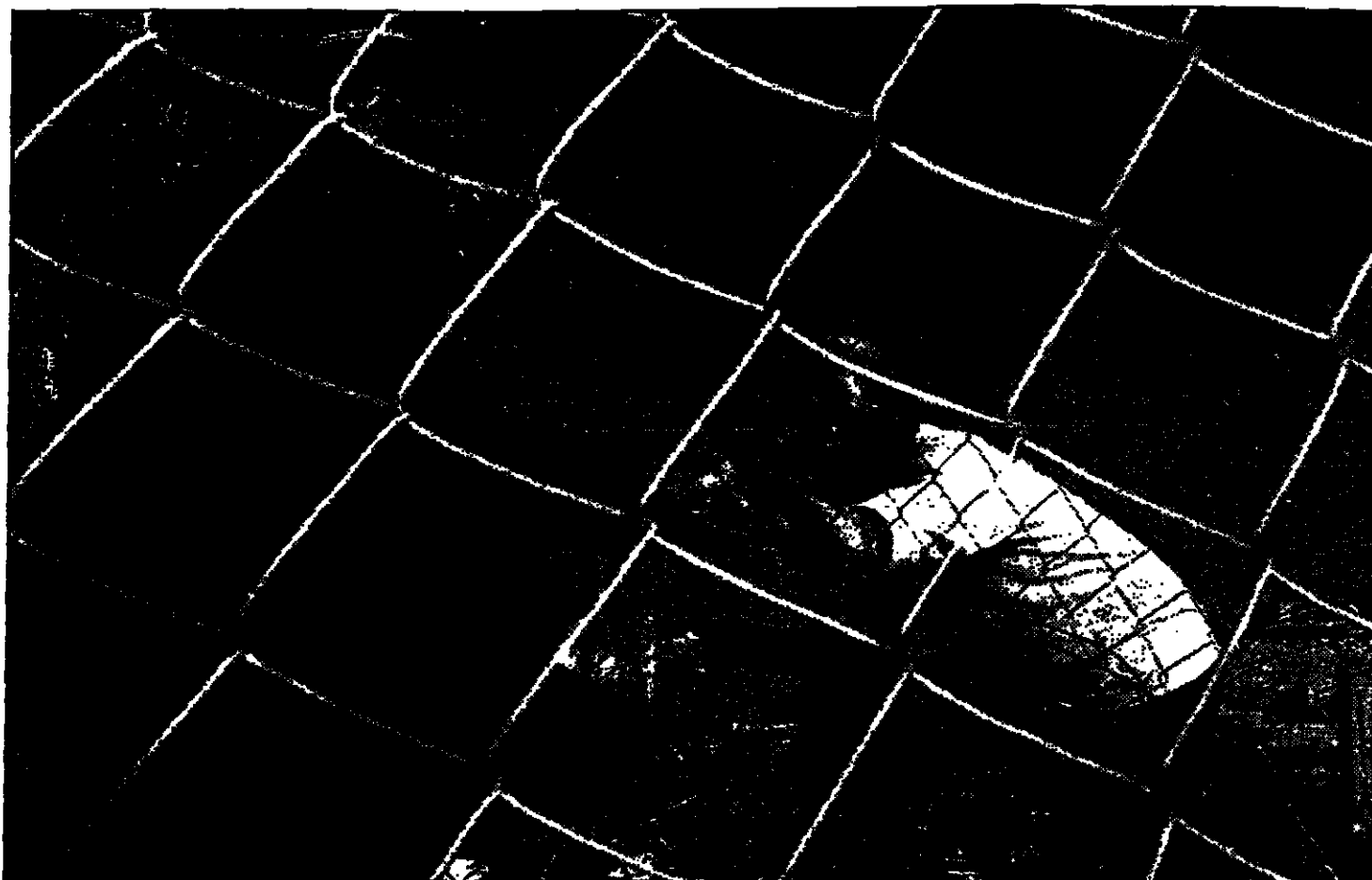
"We hope the Israeli side will fulfill its job and stop these violations here," he said after touring the compound. "We would like to give them this chance. If not, if the Israeli government fails in doing that, we believe it will be our job to defend our position here."

He did not explain what actions the Palestinians might take.

The Prime Minister's Office denied the accusation, saying "the fencing off of an area does not signify the granting of a building permit... Thus, no infringement of the Wye Agreement has taken place."

Inside the housing unit on the site, where six students and two families live, Ateret Cohanim leader Motti Dan patiently explained, as he did all last week - when three attempts were made to erect the perimeter fence - that all actions taken and permission granted were legal, beginning with former Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek through the government of Shimon Peres.

Outside, some 15 Peace Now demonstrators stood behind a police line holding signs protesting the fencing and land clearing by Ateret Cohanim, especially on the anniversary of the assassination of prime



Ateret Cohanim activists erect barbed wire around its site in Jerusalem's Ras al-Amud neighborhood.

(Reuters)

minister Yitzhak Rabin.

"To do something like this, a provocative act which is clearly something that divides the nation on the one day - after Yom Ha'atzmaut - in which we're supposedly united, just shows that some part of the religious public, the extreme settlers, couldn't care less about the anniversary of Rabin's death," said Janet Aviad, a Peace Now activist. "It's a disgrace to Judaism, it's a disgrace to ourselves, and it's a disgrace to all Israel. They can wait till tomorrow! They have no respect. Really, they're sinners."

Dan angrily bristled when told of the remarks.

"First of all, I think it's extremely serious to say that - it's incitement and a deliberate smear on our good name, and we'll be handing in a complaint to the police over the extreme things which were said by Peace Now," Dan said. "Their name is simply a disguise for a people who hate Jews and hate Arabs."

"We too deplore the death of Rabin completely, and you see we've lowered the flag over the building to half mast. So let them not try to preach to us. We're against their fervent incitement - people lacking any shame, who try to create a connection, looking for any way to stir up trouble."

## Sanbar's appointment to Holocaust insurance commission draws fire

By DAVID ZEV HARRIS

Representatives of Jewish organizations and US insurance commissioners are unhappy with the appointment of former Bank of Israel governor Moshe Sanbar to the international insurance commission, established to discuss the unpaid policy claims of Jews killed in the Holocaust, according to sources close to the commission.

There is a move to have Sanbar replaced as a representative before the next scheduled meeting of the commission on November 14.

As the former chairman of Bank Leumi, Sanbar sat on the board of Migdal Insurance alongside representatives of Assicurazioni Generali, one of the insurance companies also represented on the commission.

"Moshe Sanbar sat all these years with Generali and never mentioned this; he certainly has a conflict of interests," one source said yesterday.

Sanbar was appointed to the commission as the representative of both the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and the Center of Holocaust Survivor Organizations in Israel.

He has already been in conflict with Israeli representatives in negotiations with the Swiss banks.

Sanbar dismissed the suggestion that he should step down. "This is simply nonsense. I am probably the most extreme opponent of them [Generali]," he said yesterday.

Meanwhile, it has become clear that the main shareholder in Generali is the French Societe Eurafrance, which is one of the main backers of Jeffrey Keil's bid to purchase Israel Discount Bank and his failed attempt to buy Bank Hapoalim.

Senior Jerusalem sources said that Generali had been prepared to release the names of at least 100,000 Jews whose policies were unpaid, but Eurafrance executives blocked the move.

Eurafrance is run by Michel David-Weill and Antoine Bernheim. The latter was to have received a Prime Minister's Jubilee award in his capacity as Generali chairman, but Bobby Brown, the prime minister's adviser on Diaspora affairs, blocked the move, citing Generali's unwillingness to publish the list of Holocaust victims.

There is particular anger in Jerusalem that several of Eurafrance's top executives are Jewish, as are those of its principal shareholder Lazard Brothers.

No one was available for comment yesterday at Eurafrance.

## Budget vote no longer no-confidence motion

By NINA GILBERT

The strength of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's coalition will be put to the test today when the budget is due to come up for a first reading in the Knesset plenum.

The vote was due to be heard today as a no-confidence motion, proposed by Mokedet leader Rehavam Ze'evi. However, Ze'evi rescinded the motion yesterday in response to a request from Labor whip Elie Goldschmidt.

Goldschmidt said last night that he asked Ze'evi to "play fair" and not to turn the budget debate into a vote on the political process. He said that if the vote was kept as a no-confidence motion, the opposition would have to try to maneuver to muster a majority against the budget without toppling the government.

A spokesman for coalition whip

Meir Sheetrit (Likud) said the coalition expects to win a majority today, based on an assumption that it will gain the support of the NRP.

The government was set to bring the budget for a first reading last Wednesday, but did not have a majority due to NRP opposition.

Prime Minister's Office Director-General Moshe Leon held intensive contacts with Sheetrit and the NRP to win the party's support.

An NRP spokesman said last night that the faction would meet again this afternoon to decide how to vote. As of yesterday it was still planning to vote against the budget.

The NRP's failure to support the measure is due to its opposition to the Wye Memorandum, a coalition spokesman said yesterday, noting that the NRP had supported the budget before the agreement.

## PM demands solution to depreciation of rental aid

By DAVID ZEV HARRIS

In a bid to gain Yisrael Ba'aliya's support for this afternoon's first reading of the 1999 state budget, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu yesterday gave an inter-ministerial committee 24 hours to provide a solution for the effects of the depreciation of the shekel on rented accommodation prices.

The party said it will vote against the budget unless Netanyahu resolves the issue.

The committee has until 4 p.m. the scheduled time for the vote, to find a compromise, which will enable Yisrael Ba'aliya to support the government on the budget.

The panel is chaired by Prime Minister's Office Director-General Moshe Leon and also comprises representatives of the Housing and

Construction, Finance, Immigration and Absorption, Justice and Labor and Social Affairs ministries.

The Treasury said last night that no sum had been specifically allocated by Netanyahu for this issue but added that the Housing and Construction Ministry has some NIS 2 billion put aside to fund such eventualities.

In October alone, the shekel depreciated 10.5 percent against the dollar to NIS 4.25, following a 4% depreciation in September. Since the start of the year, the shekel has lost 20% of its value against the dollar.

Yisrael Ba'aliya ministers Natan Sharansky and Yuli Edelstein are calling for a one-time payment to those entitled to government subsidies to cope with the increase in dollar-linked rental contracts.

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DRIVE

## State-run television report:

# Iran forces parade near Afghan border

TEHRAN (Reuters) - Iranian army forces paraded yesterday near the Afghan border ahead of the final phase of major military exercises, state-run television reported.

Some 200,000 army troops have been sent to the tense border with Afghanistan for the exercises, which began on Saturday with live-fire war games involving tanks and infantry.

The television showed tanks, armored personnel carriers, towed and self-propelled guns, as well as rocket launchers lined up in a desert area in the province of Sistan and Baluchestan.

Fighter planes and helicopters were shown flying over the parade, which the television said was overseen by the army's commander-in-chief, Brigadier-General Ali Shabbazi.

The television said the forces

were ready to participate today in the last phase of the Zolfagar-2 maneuvers, named after the sword of Ali - the cousin of Prophet Mohammed and first Imam of the Shi'ite faith.

The war games are due to involve infantry, armored and artillery units as well as commando forces and naval units, supported by the air force and army air corps.

In addition to the 200,000 army troops, Iran has massed 70,000 Revolutionary Guards in the border area covering 50,000 sq. km.

Iran has said its forces would remain in the area after the war games to protect its eastern borders against threats to its national security, including the drug trade.

"Iran will not tolerate violations of its borders and drug trafficking," the television quoted

Shabbazi as saying.

Iran is a major route for opium and heroin smuggled from Afghanistan and Pakistan - the so-called Golden Crescent - to Europe.

Shabbazi was also quoted by the official Iranian news agency IRNA as saying Iran was "ready to suppress any kind of plot by the enemies of Iran."

Tensions rose sharply between

Iran and the Afghan Taliban in August after fighters of the purist Islamic militia killed Iranian diplomats when they captured the northern Afghan town of Mazar-i-Sharif.

## Rights group calls for UN probe of 'atrocities'

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (AP) - Calling the slaughter of Afghan civilians in northern Afghanistan by invading Taliban soldiers "one of the worst atrocities of Afghanistan's long civil war," Human Rights Watch called yesterday for a speedy investigation by the United Nations.

In interviews with survivors here, Human Rights Watch workers heard horrific stories of marauding Taliban soldiers

shooting at "anything that moves." Survivors said soldiers went house to house dragging out ethnic Hazaras, who are Shi'ite Muslims, and shooting them, rounding up hundreds, perhaps thousands of young men, and packing them into rail cars for transportation to jail.

"In a very brutal war, this is a particularly brutal episode," said Patricia Gossman, senior researcher of Human Rights

Watch's Asia Division. "We are talking about the systematic execution of perhaps 2,000 civilians, in large part because of their ethnic and religious identity." The Taliban religious army, which rules roughly 90 percent of Afghanistan, took control of the northern opposition stronghold of Mazar-i-Sharif in August.

During the bloody takeover eight Iranian diplomats and an Iranian journalist also were killed.



Till breath do us part

A couple seals their wedding vows underwater in Singapore on Saturday. The newlyweds are both diving enthusiasts. (Reuters)

## N. Ireland leaders vow to press on with accord

BELFAST (Reuters) - Northern Ireland's political leaders yesterday condemned the random murder of a Catholic by a shadowy Protestant group and pledged it would not derail the peace process.

The little-known Protestant terrorist group Red Hand Defenders said it had murdered 35-year-old Brian Service in a Belfast street shooting on Saturday.

The group, which is opposed to the peace accord signed last April, also admitted attacking a bar in the staunchly Catholic area of west Belfast an hour before the shooting.

The random sectarian attack was carried out as Protestant and Republican politicians reached deadlock over implementing a key part of the peace agreement.

Protestant First Minister David Trimble and his Catholic deputy Seamus Mallon issued a statement calling the shooting "cynical and dastardly."

They said they were determined to press ahead with the peace accord, which was supported by a 70 percent majority in a referendum.

## Key Senate races to close to call as US election nears

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Half a dozen key Senate races were neck and neck yesterday as the campaign for state and congressional elections that could determine President Bill Clinton's political future entered its final 48 hours.

Thirty-four Senate seats, 36 governorships and all 435 seats in the House of Representatives were at stake in tomorrow's mid-term elections, which some have cast as a referendum on whether Clinton should be impeached but others see as an election without any real issues.

The consensus among pundits was that Republicans would make minimal gains in the House, probably picking up between six and 12 seats, while winning two or three seats in the Senate. But that calculation remained tentative because of the large number

of Senate races that were still too close to call. Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato was in a dead heat with Representative Charles Schumer in the tightest race of the year, the New York Senate campaign. Schumer had a small lead in polls last week.

In California, Republican Matt Fong was almost tied with Sen. Barbara Boxer in a new San Francisco Examiner poll. Last week, polls had shown Boxer pulling away.

Other Senate races that could go either way included Kentucky, North Carolina, Nevada and Wisconsin.

Democrats seemed poised to win the greatest single prize of the election by capturing the governorship of California. But Republicans had an excellent chance to gain Florida, Georgia

and Colorado to add to the 32 states they already control.

Republicans, who have a big money advantage over Democrats, launched a series of advertisements in key congressional districts last week, arguing that Clinton ought to be punished for lying to the American people about his relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

But Clinton's behavior has been virtually a non-factor in a campaign that has failed to stir most voters and has been fought mainly on state and local issues.

"That issue (the Lewinsky scandal) hasn't been an issue in a single Senate race with which I'm familiar. It's been a no-show," said Kentucky Sen. Mitch McConnell, chairman of his party's senatorial campaign committee.

## Radical Polish Catholics place more symbols at Auschwitz

WARSAW (Reuters) - Radical Roman Catholics added religious plaques to a sea of crosses outside Auschwitz as part of their campaign to keep Christian symbols at the site of the death camp.

Kazimierz Switon, a self-appointed guardian of the Catholic symbols, said the Stations of the Cross, depictions of Christ's journey to the crucifixion, had been added to some 240 crosses at the site.

"The stations were set up to mark the area where the faithful should gather," Switon said.

Radical Catholics have set up the crosses - despite protests by Jewish groups, the Polish government and the Catholic Church - which said erecting them was an abuse of the religious symbol and put strain on Judeo-Christian relations.

Jewish groups object to any religious symbols being placed near the camp, where 1.5 million people died, about 90 percent of them

removed. But radical Polish Catholics say they have a right to pray for the 152 Polish political prisoners executed at Auschwitz by the Germans at the start of the war.

A seven-meter wooden cross, under which Pope John Paul prayed during his visit to Poland in 1979, has marked the site since 1988.

The row over the crosses began earlier this year when Krzysztof Slivinski, Poland's Foreign Ministry envoy for Jewish affairs, said the papal cross would soon be

removed. Last month the government suffered a setback in the dispute when a Polish court rejected its move to take over the area where the crosses have been placed.

Switon said he intended to spend the winter in his caravan at the site to defend the crosses.

Krzysztof Miodzik, a member of a rival local group, which defends the papal cross but opposes the others at the site, said erecting new symbols was Switon's desperate attempt to revive interest in the fading campaign.

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# Monkeying around with numbers up to 10

Dating from Descartes, it has been held that non-human primates cannot think because they cannot use language. Now two American psychologists are challenging that view, writes **Bob Nelson**

Two Columbia University psychologists who are studying primates have made monkeys out of people who thought apes had no numerical capability.

The researchers have taught monkeys to discriminate among computer-generated images containing as many as nine objects, and to respond to them in ascending order. Their success rate has been well above what chance would predict.

The work, in fact, is the strongest evidence so far of numerical ability in non-human primates, said the researchers, Prof. Herbert Terrace and Elizabeth Brannon, in a recent issue of *Science*.

Their work challenges the prevailing view, which dates back to Descartes, and holds that non-human primates cannot think because they cannot use language. At the same time it challenges the views of B.F. Skinner, the noted behaviorist and Prof. Terrace's mentor at Harvard, who held that all examples of animal intelligence were simply conditioned behavior that didn't require cognitive explanations.

Terrace and Brannon believe that cognitive processes are needed to explain the kind of complex behavior they are studying. They hope to show that human intelligence – like other human attributes – can be traced to animal origins.

"We have ample evidence that animals can think without language," said Terrace, who heads Columbia's primate cognition laboratory. "In our current and previous research, we have shown that animals solved complex problems without help from external cues."

Terrace is best known for Project Nim, in which he tried to teach a chimpanzee named Nim Chimpsky to communicate with sign language.

Nim appeared to learn American

Sign Language and eventually mastered a 125-sign vocabulary. However, Terrace was not convinced that the chimp had demonstrated the ability to create unique sentences, which is the hallmark of language.

"Though monkeys do not recognize the word 'two' or the symbol '2,' they share with humans the capacity to master simple arithmetic, on at least the level of a two-year-old child. We don't have direct evidence yet, but it seems likely that these monkeys, and other non-human primates, can count," Brannon added.

In a series of experiments, the Columbia researchers trained two male rhesus monkeys named Rosencrantz and Macduff by pre-

**'Monkeys know things about numbers that we haven't taught them'**

– Psychologist Elizabeth Brannon

sending them with 35 sets of images on a touch-sensitive video screen.

Each picture contained a different number of different objects from one through four: for example, one triangle, two bananas, three hearts and four apples.

The stimuli appeared in random positions on the screen, to prevent the monkeys from learning the required sequence as a series of fixed motor movements.

Other features of the pictures, unrelated to number, such as size, surface area, shape and color, were

also varied randomly.

When the monkeys touched the pictures in ascending order – one square, two trees, three ovals and four flowers – they received a banana-flavored food pellet. If they made an error, the screen turned black for several seconds and a new trial began with different pictures.

This "video game" paradigm, which the monkeys now clearly enjoy, trained them to perform cognitive serial tasks without verbal instructions – without language, the researchers said.

"It's like using your password to get money from a cash machine, but it's actually much harder for the monkeys," Terrace said. "The pictures, and their position on the screen, change each time they try for another pellet of food."

"When you go to a cash machine you don't have to deal with the numbers being in strange positions each time. We ask a lot, cognitively speaking, of our non-human primate subjects."

Over the course of learning 35 different training sets, the monkeys got better and better at responding in the ascending numerical order, one to four.

THE two psychologists then tested Rosencrantz and Macduff on 150 test trials in which a new stimulus set, showing numbers of objects from five to nine, was presented on each trial. The monkeys performed just as well as they had on the original 35 training sets.

"There was no way they could have done this – unless they had learned some numerical rule for ordering the contents of the pictures," Brannon said.

To test whether the monkeys understood the ordinal relations between non-consecutive numbers – that, for example, five is greater than three – Brannon and Terrace gave the monkeys a new set of



Prof. Herbert Terrace: "Though monkeys do not recognize the word 'two' or the symbol '2,' they share with humans the capacity to master simple arithmetic, on at least the level of a two-year-old child." (Camera Press)

problems in which they were shown up to nine objects.

The task was to first touch the picture containing the smaller number of objects, then the one with the larger number of objects.

For example, if a monkey was shown one picture with five large circles and another containing seven small circles, the correct response was five, then seven.

Rosencrantz and Macduff responded correctly even when the number of objects in the pictures exceeded

four.

"This finding is important because it shows that monkeys know things about numbers that we haven't taught them," Brannon said.

THE psychologists believe that arithmetic and language evolved separately, and that number skills preceded human speech.

"Language is a complex social skill, whereas counting can be learned by the individual," Terrace said. "Counting is useful in forag-

ing for food, assessing a group of predators or ordering the number of dominant males in one's group."

With further studies, the research team hopes to answer other questions on language and numerical abilities in non-human primates.

Do monkeys, like humans, immediately identify small numbers of objects without counting?

Could a non-human primate learn to match two different pictures of three objects, one containing, for example, three circles, the other,

three triangles?

Can monkeys learn symbols that represent numbers?

How hard would it be for a monkey to learn a non-consecutive numerical sequence – for example, three-one-four-two?

Terrace and Brannon believe that these, and similar experiments on the numerical ability of animals, will provide a unique window into the evolution of human intelligence. (Columbia University News Service)

## Eat your heart out, Steven Spielberg!

By KELLI WHITLOCK

Contrary to what you've always thought, *Tyrannosaurus rex* probably didn't have lips, and *Triceratops* most likely didn't have cheeks.

This assertion, coming from an Ohio University paleontologist, could have implications on scientists who study these extinct animals – as well as on toy manufacturers, movie set designers and artists whose recreations of dinosaurs now seem to be inaccurate.

"I almost expect a backlash as a result of our findings. There is a sense that we're changing the way a lot of dinosaurs look," says Lawrence Witmer, an assistant professor of anatomy at Ohio University and principal investigator on a National Science Foundation project to study the soft tissues of dinosaurs.

Witmer presented his research at the annual meeting of the Society for Vertebrate Paleontology held here last month.

His project, which has involved high-tech scanning of dinosaur fossils and dissection of their modern-day relatives, has yielded more than just a picture of the internal construction of these animals. The work has led to what Witmer believes may be a better, more accurate way to rebuild dinosaurs using basic comparative anatomy.

"When you work on extinct animals, there is a pressure and a sincere desire to know what these animals looked like," Witmer says. "We draw these pictures, and they look right to us because they remind us of ani-

mals we see today. But these pictures may be wrong."

FOR example, Witmer says, *Triceratops* and *Leptoceratops*, both ornithischians, have long been thought to have cheeks, which scientists believed were involved in how these plant-eaters ate.

The idea that they had cheeks was based on scientists' comparison of these dinosaurs to modern-day mammals, such as sheep. The dinosaurs probably were about the same size as sheep, and most likely enjoyed the same plant-based diet. Sheep, like all mammals, have fleshy, muscular cheeks.

Scientists who compared the animals to ornithischians operated under the assumption that these dinosaurs had the same muscular cheeks as sheep.

"Scientists have regarded these cheeks as one of the most important facial features of this group of dinosaurs because of the role muscular cheeks were supposed to play in feeding and perhaps even the efficiency with which they chewed," Witmer says.

Studies of fossil remains of ornithischians suggest these dinosaurs have "features on their jaw bones that require explanation," such as excavated areas on the upper and lower jaws resulting in the teeth being set in from the surface of the skull.

Since the presence of cheeks would explain this jaw structure, scientists claim that ornithischians had cheeks was strengthened.

But Witmer's studies have found this comparison to be false: modern mammals with

muscular cheeks do not have the same sort of excavated area on their lower and upper jaw that is found in dinosaur fossils.

A more likely conclusion is that these jaw features supported an extended beak, similar to the beaks on eagles or crocodiles.

It also appears scientists have made a similar mistake with tyrannosaurs, which have been likened to modern-day lizards thought to have muscular lips.

Lizards have scales that Witmer says hang down along the edges of their jaws and hide the lizards' teeth when their mouths are closed. However, this isn't necessarily so with tyrannosaurs. These dinosaurs had skin that probably extended to the margin of their jaw, but didn't extend to cover their teeth.

"Lips on a tyrannosaur are important if you're making a movie or a toy for a child, but it's really not a big deal if you're trying to figure out what these animals were like," Witmer says. "With or without lips, tyrannosaur was a vicious hunter."

But in a society so mesmerized by dinosaurs, it is important that the experts who recreate these extinct animals in the form of plastic or moveable machines do so accurately, Witmer says.

"People who put cheeks or lips on dinosaurs are trying to put something on these animals that they probably didn't have," Witmer says.

"We're not trying to lay waste to other people's ideas without offering alternatives. What we're suggesting is that the way we've made these comparisons in the past is inappropriate and there are better, more disci-

plined ways to do this that we believe will lead to a more accurate description of how these animals looked."

SINCE his study began a little more than two years ago, Witmer has examined the fossil remains of dozens of dinosaurs using images obtained by computerized tomography (CT) scans. His research also has included the dissection and CT scanning of many modern-day animals he says have bone structures and soft tissues similar to dinosaurs.

"Scientists need to get dirty," Witmer says. "They need to roll up their sleeves, pull out their scalpels and start looking at how modern animals are put together. And birds and crocodiles should be the first place we look to make comparisons."

Most scientists agree that birds and crocodiles are the closest living relatives to dinosaurs, which is why it is so puzzling that scientists haven't looked to these animals when recreating physical structures of dinosaurs.

Many of these comparisons haven't been scrutinized before because they weren't made using a technique that could be scrutinized, Witmer says. That's one of the differences between methods of old and the one he's developed.

"One of the things I like to take pride in is that this method has the possibility of being proved wrong," Witmer says.

"I like to think it can survive testing – but at least it can be tested." (Ohio University News Service)



Is this how *Tyrannosaurus rex* looked? Now science says no.

## JERUSALEM

Continued from Page 1

The other is Nazim Bader, running on the Hadash ticket (Vav), which calls for making Jerusalem the capital of two states, an end to the demolition of homes in eastern Jerusalem, and the allocation of municipal services to all citizens on an equal basis. "As long as people are paying municipal taxes to the Israeli government, we will see to it that they get the service they deserve," Bader said.

Also running for mayor is city councilman Elisha Peleg, on the independent For Jerusalem list (Pe), which includes businessman Avi Cassuto, Communications Ministry adviser Michal Cafrey-Yardeni, and Adam Ruskin, a lawyer who hails from Alaska.

All these candidates running to unseat Olmert are hoping, if not to win, then to at least prevent him from garnering 40 percent of the vote, which would force a run-off between the top two candidates two weeks later. Should Olmert win, as expected, he will be forced to resign from his Knesset seat after 24 years.

As for the 31 city council seats, the other lists running can be divided into political, social, and religious groups, each pushing its

own agenda.

The religious parties, which currently comprise 13 seats in the coalition, include:

- The National Religious Party (Net), led by Deputy Mayor Shmuel Shkedi, David Simhon, and Councilwoman Mina Feigen.

- United Torah Judaism (Gimmel), which combines Agudat Yisrael and Degel Hatorah, is headed by Avraham Yehuda Finer, and includes Deputy Mayor Uri Lupolianski, Deputy Mayor Uri Maklev, and Moshe Cohen, director of Bikur Holim Hospital.

- Shas (Shin Samekh), led by Shlomi Atlas, Eliezer Simhayoff, and Shmuel Yitzhaki, promises to end discrimination, aid the weaker segments of society, and strengthen education and Jewish tradition.

The parties pushing for a hard-line stand on the political future of the city include:

- Moleket (Tet), led by journalist Pini Ben-Or, with Uri Bank, assistant to MK Benny Elon and the only Anglo with a realistic chance of serving in the city council, pediatrician Michael Kojinsky, and educator Eta Frucht.

- Tsomet (Tzadi), headed by Hanan Aharon, director of the Jerusalem region for the Ministry of Transportation, and dentist Richard Barbi.

- Jewish Jerusalem (Pe Zayin),

led by Tiram Pollack, a follower of Meir Kahane, with Yuval Geshon, a kashrut inspector and Likud activist, Rudy Fortuny, a publisher and former refusenik.

The non-partisan independent parties include:

- Jerusalem Handicapped List (Nun Pe), led by activists Simcha Benita, Avraham Levi, Bechor Machlof, and Eli Tzsch, promotes the interests of the city's disabled.

- There is a Future for Jerusalem (Zayin Kaf), led by Yossi Tal-Cam, former city council director, Shlomo Hasson, Hebrew

University geography professor and urban planning expert, and Yael Elon, an economic adviser and former senior staff member of the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

Their platform calls for putting professionals in charge of city management and planning, uniting religious and secular, improving education, and preserving the environment.

- Communities for Jerusalem (Zayin), headed by city councilwoman Larissa Gershstein-Kuznetsov, the list is composed mainly of immigrant Jews from the former Soviet Union and Europe.

- Nesht (Zayin Nun), led by Hannah Deshevski of the National Council for the Child, is comprised of Russian-speaking Israelis.

- I Am a Jerusalemite (Mem), headed by city councilman and singer Yehoram Gaon, together with Yehuda Wechsman, father of murdered soldier Nachshon Wechsman, and Yona Baumel, father of MIA Zacharia Baumel.

- Geshet (Nun Resh), led by former Tsomet city councilman Eli Cohen.

- Jerusalem of Us All (Ayin Zayin), led by neighborhood activist Yemin Suissa, includes Nevela Ya'acov administration head Gabi Genish and Ilana Alkassasi, Ir Ganim community activist.

- Telem (Pe), led by city councilman Yisrael Shulderman, with lawyer Eli Tussia-Cohen, East

Talpiot community administration head Yehuda Ben-Yosef, and poet Ruth Yardeni Katz, this independent list advocates direct contact between the voter and elected officials without party intermediaries, and channeling property taxes back into community services.

- Neighborhoods for the Strengthening of Jerusalem (Kuf), led by Meir Turgeman, head of the Gilo community administration; Ilan Anzlag, director of an auto parts company; and businessman Uri Adika.

- Another Jerusalem (Kuf Kaf), led by Herzl Benyamin, educator and defensive-driving instructor.

- Tomorrow: The races in Haifa and Karmiel.

## Annexation is the key Mevasseret issue

The main issue concerning Mevasseret Zion residents is Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert's annexation plan – which would not actually annex Mevasseret but take control of its undeveloped lands. The candidate who appears most able to resist "The Greater Jerusalem Plan" will score the most votes.

The current 13-seat Mevasseret Zion local council will be enlarged to 15 seats. Incumbent Eli Mouyal of has been council chairman for the last six-and-a-half years, and is running again for the position as head of the Independent Mevasseret Zion list (ballot code Mem Alef).

Architect and city planner Adi Gai from the Telem list (the Movement of Citizens for Mevasseret Zion), has also lobbied against the proposed annexation and is running against Mouyal, as are Chaviv Levi from Olmert's list and Yitzhak Levy from the Likud. A number of others will run for the council, but not the

chairmanship.

Other issues concerning the residents include education, environment, and the council deficit. But as Gayla Goodman, an immigrant from the United States and a resident of Mevasseret for over 10 years said: "We need to have control of Mevasseret, and then we can deal with the other issues by ourselves."

### Beit Shemesh

Five candidates are running for mayor in Beit Shemesh, including Likud incumbent Daniel Vaknin. The leading contender is his senior deputy Eli Ben-Lulu, formerly of the National Religious Party and now running on the new Tachlit list, created to gain a broader base. The three others are Councilman Chaim Harosh of Labor, Councilman Albert Ochion of Geshet, and Ami Orion of the Idan Aher list.

Thirteen lists are running for the council,

whose 14 seats will be expanded to 17 this term. Native English-speaking candidates include the Likud's Nos. 5 and 6, Tzvi Wolicki and Davida Nugiel, and the NRP's No. 4, Jamie Nathan.

There is no single issue in Beit Shemesh, said 27-year-old Moshe Klempner, who has lived there the past year and a half. Klempner is part of the growing community of Anglos, who comprise roughly 8 percent of the population. He cites the State Comptroller's Report which criticized a host of inefficiencies in the municipality.

"There is a general sense of concern about the way the municipality has dealt with the provision of services and other issues – from the operation of the community swimming pool to the tenders for building schools; it's now catch-up time, and the municipality is making an intensive effort to pacify people," he said.

Ami Klein

By BARRY DAVIS

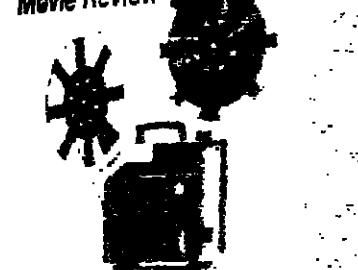
Life is short. Esther is one of the many who haven't managed to live long enough. Esther is one of the many who haven't managed to live long enough. Esther is one of the many who haven't managed to live long enough.

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Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

I have a confession to make. I am a movie addict. I have a confession to make. I am a movie addict. I have a confession to make. I am a movie addict.

HOPE FLOATS

Directed by Peter Jackson. Hope Floats is a comedy-drama film. It tells the story of a woman who finds love and hope in a small town.

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Hope Float



# Growing old while young at heart

By BARRY DAVIS

"Life is over," declares Esther while making a pie in her kitchen, "and I haven't managed anything yet." Esther is one of the three heroines of Zippi Reibenbach's award-winning documentary *Three Sisters* (Channel 1, tomorrow night at 9:35), which records the everyday lives of three septuagenarian siblings who survived the Holocaust and emigrated to Palestine shortly after the end of the Second World War.

Esther, a mere "babe in arms" at 70, is the youngest of the trio, the others being Caroleh, the eldest at 78, and the middle sister Fruma — three years Caroleh's junior and the documentary director's mother.

Taken at face value, *Three Sisters* is a story of old age and all its aches and pains, endless visits to the doctor and depressing old-age homes. But there is very little morbidity in the documentary.

Despite being emotionally linked to the main protagonists, Reibenbach manages to produce an intimate glimpse of the everyday comings and goings of her parents and aunts, which is at once impressive and inescapably emotive.

What could be more invasive than taking a peek at Esther's various veins as she gets ready to go to the beach? But Esther calmly, almost jokingly, relates how she has suffered from the affliction since the age of 18 — a result of

spending most of her teenage years working 12 hours a day on her feet in a concentration-camp factory. Esther is the most optimistic of the threesome. However, even she has her moments of weakness as she expresses her ire at having "suddenly grown old."

The documentary is riddled with black humor. Even as Esther observes that the cemeteries are full of people who never reached 70, she says jokingly: "I have a mortal fear of death."

Black humor comes to the rescue when Esther goes to the old-age home to feed her husband Issar. "Now you can eat," she notes as she inserts Issar's dentures, then gives a running commentary on the virtues of the borscht she is spooning into his drooling mouth.

At the unveiling of Issar's tombstone, an old friend notes that the dear departed is not likely to rise up. "No," responds Esther in double quick time, "they covered him up good and proper."

Even Fruma's ailing husband, Yitzhak, comes up with a good line or two. When Esther relates how she rejected the offer to buy the plot adjacent to her husband's grave, Yitzhak concurs: "They'll bury you anyway." A few moments later, however, he changes his opinion, and adopts a more practical approach with the observation that he won't have so far to walk if Esther is buried next to her husband.

When she is not taking care of her husband, Fruma is busy recording her recollections of the years she and Caroleh spent in Perschitz concentration camp. But, despite the seemingly bland *modus vivendi* they have achieved after half a century of married life, Fruma and Yitzhak enjoy a moment or two of fun. They prove to be a formidable team when it comes to hanging out the wash — with Fruma at one window pinning the clothes on the line while, out of another window, Yitzhak moves the line to and fro to make room for more laundry.

Once again, Fruma, too, is not above a wry observation or two. As she sorts through the letters she received from Esther during the Second World War, and assiduously moves other documents to their proper pile, she terms her labors: "Selection and evacuation."

And, for those who think that romantic intrigue ends with middle age, think again. Toward the end of the documentary Esther reveals a complex ménage à trois between the sisters and Fruma and Esther's husbands.

The most remarkable feature of *Three Sisters* is its uncomplicated, unselfish and non-melodramatic handling of a subject which could have so easily slipped into a morass of emotion and tear-jerking scenes.

The documentary was received with great acclaim at this year's Berlin Film Festival and won the Haifa Cultural Foundation's 1997 Work-in-Progress award.



Black humor fills the documentary 'Three Sisters.' 'I have a mortal fear of death,' jokes youngest sister, Esther.

## The danger of being cute

Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

In *Hope Floats*, Sandra Bullock plays Birdie, a former small-town movie theater whose marriage to her high-school sweetheart, a most-likely-to-succeed quarterback type, ends abruptly in the film's first scene. Then, on national television, in

couch with her philandering husband and her back-slapping buddy, her eyes fill with tears under the hot lights, and already we catch a glimpse (in Sandra Bullock's crushed expression, in the camera's quiet focus on her) of the surprising nuance to come.

Bit by bit — as Birdie attempts to put her life back together by packing her things, piling her small daughter (Mae Whitman) into the car, and driving home to her slightly batty mother (Gena Rowlands) in Texas — the picture reveals itself to be a sensitive, low-key letter to the gladiatorial cruelty and sensationalism practiced by the Jerry Springers and Ricki Lakes of the world. Lo and behold, the guests on such shows are real people and their problems do not just flicker out when the loud-mouth host cuts to a commercial.

Conventional in its basic thrust but quirky in its particulars (thematically at least it echoes both *The Last Picture Show* and *Everybody's All American*), the movie is directed with a gentle, almost bluesy, touch by the wonderful lazy-eyed actor Forest Whitaker. In addition to his fine work with the performers and his skilled evocation of both backwoods narrowness and warmth, he has an unusual gift for soft-pedaling big emotions. He knows, for instance, how to fade out tantalizingly at the end of a scene, how to use these slow black-outs to preserve and even intensify the ambiguity of the interactions that have come just before. And he rarely pushes the action toward easy pay-offs or resolutions. If anything, the more predictable aspects of the plot,



Birdie (Sandra Bullock) sees daughter Bernice (Mae Whitman) off to her first day at a new school.

such as Birdie's budding romance with an old friend (Harry Connick Jr.) and her interactions with her Alzheimer's-stricken

father, come to seem secondary to the delicate internal drama in the foreground — an aging beauty queen's struggle to like herself

and learn to be her own person, her own adult.

Bullock proves herself, once again, an actress of admirable resources. She's an entirely natural presence onscreen, and this role gives her a welcome chance to stretch and test her limits. For the first time here, she uses her quick laugh and smooth good looks to do more than simply charm us: in Birdie, we see the difficulties and dangers that come with being so cute, so pleasant, so likable. Awkwardness is a hard mode to play effectively (often the actress, instead of the character, winds up looking ill at ease) but Bullock's efforts on this front are in fact quite poignant.

The movie has its weaknesses as well. Steven Rogers's script is merely serviceable and there are perhaps a few too many moody musical interludes for comfort. Whitaker is listed in the credits as both director and co-executive soundtrack producer: every now and then the film oozes over into MTV-land and we begin to feel we're being sold a CD instead of watching characters develop. Gena Rowlands's performance is sometimes potent and sometimes plain hammy. She might do well to refrain for a while from portraying eccentric matrons with rambling old houses and special talents for befriending adorable children. (It's more or less the same part she played in *Unhook the Stars*.)

All in all, though, *Hope Floats* is unusually mellow and subtle for a contemporary Hollywood picture. That it fared poorly in the US is unfair but predictable: the film refuses to fit neatly into its slick little package.

## 'Palestine Circus' wins top honors

By BARRY DAVIS

After the spotlights were dimmed, and the glad rags had been returned to their closets, it transpired that this year's Israel Movie Academy award for Best Movie had gone to *Palestine Circus*.

This was just one of five awards grabbed by *Palestine Circus*, along with Best Actor (Yoram Hatav), Best Supporting Actor (Amos Lavi), Best Script (Eyal Halfon) and Best Composer (Shlomo Gronich).

Prior to last Wednesday's ceremony, which was hosted by Mili Avital and Momi Moshonov, there had been much speculation over which movie would win the top award. *Palestine Circus*'s main rival for the prize was *Dangerous*, which received seven awards, including Best Director (Shemi Zarhin), Photography

(David Gurfinkel), Editing (Einat Glazer-Zarhin), Costume Design (Rakefet Levi) and Best Supporting Actress (Assi Levi).

The Best Documentary award went to Shahar Segal's *A Prime Minister's Schedule* — a record of the last five weeks of Yitzhak Rabin's life.

Special Life Achievement Awards were made to veteran actor Yosef Shiloah and to Jerusalem Film Festival and Film Archive founder Lia Van Leer — who reminded the audience that Rabin had attended the ceremony three years earlier, just days before his assassination.

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TEVEL — GUSH DAN & NORTHERN AREAS	Sundays	5:30 p.m.	
	Wednesdays	5:00 p.m.	
	Sundays	4:30 p.m.	
SOUTHERN AREAS			
	Wednesdays	4:30 p.m.	
	Thursdays	7:30 p.m.	
	Mon. & Wed.	7:30 p.m.	
NETANYA AREA			
	Sundays	7:00 p.m.	
	Thursdays	5:00 p.m.	
	Wednesdays	5:30 p.m.	
	Sundays	5:00 p.m.	
	Wednesdays	4:30 p.m.	
	Thursdays	4:30 p.m.	
BAT YAM / HOLON AREA			
	Monday	4:30 p.m.	7:30 p.m.
	Saturdays	5:00 p.m.	
HAIFA — TOWN AREA			
	Monday	4:30 p.m.	7:30 p.m.
	Saturdays	5:00 p.m.	
GALILEE (Tiberias to K. Shmora)			
	Monday	4:30 p.m.	7:30 p.m.
	Saturdays	5:00 p.m.	
CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AREA			
	Monday	4:30 p.m.	7:30 p.m.
	Saturdays	5:00 p.m.	
JERUSALEM, DAN, JERACHOY, SOUTH			
	Tuesdays	9:30 a.m. & 8:30 p.m.	
	Tuesdays	9:30 a.m. & 8:30 p.m.	
	Monday	3:30 p.m. & 8:30 p.m.	
	Wednesdays	3:00 p.m.	

## Shiv Kumar Sharma's delicate santoor

By HELEN KAYE

Nobody asked Shiv Kumar Sharma whether he wanted to study the santoor. "It was my father's will, so I had to do it," he says over the phone from his Bombay home. "It was a very odd choice really, because, like him, I sang and played the tabla."

He persevered because "the instrument was originally unsuited to the continuity and the sustained notes that are the basis of Indian classical music. It prompted me to take the challenge and create the instrument modifications and the technique to play the classics on the santoor, a process that took many years."

Today, at 60, Sharma is

arguably one of the world's best on the instrument that was originally known as "the hundred-stringed lute." Together with the equally great tabla player, Zakir Hussain, he's coming here for two concerts — at the Noga Theater in Haifa on November 30 and at the International Convention Center in Jerusalem on December 2.

The santoor, which is played with a pair of curved sticks, looks a bit like a zither, or a dulcimer. It's certainly as old as the harp. Sharma says, because descriptions of it are found in early Sanskrit writings. It was a folk instrument used for playing Kashmiri music and as accompaniment to Sufi melodies.

Somehow his father had decid-

ed that Sharma would be the one to supervise its metamorphosis to the classics, and since his 1955 debut, he has never looked back.

Studying with a recognized master is the aim of every would-be artist. Sharma had one at home — his father. "My father decided I had talent when I was only a year old," says Sharma, "because when he sang, I would try to imitate him. My father was short-tempered, but I was very quick, and he never had to repeat anything."

Times have changed, says Sharma, and he put no pressure on his own son Rahul to become a musician. "But when he was around 12, he started to sit in on the lessons I gave my own students and comment afterwards on

their abilities; so that is how he started. I felt he had the talent."

Sharma and Rahul appeared together on stage throughout Europe and North America in 1996, but because it's unusual for guru and disciple to appear as equals in India, Rahul, 26, didn't make his debut at home until last year. Happily, the public approved and praised him almost as much as his illustrious father. Here too, he'll join his father on stage.

UNLIKE Western music, Indian music is not composed, Sharma explains. There is a basic melody, the raga, and a fixed rhythmic cycle "and then we improvise. The music is unplanned and that is its beauty. The same melody

can come out 10 different ways at 10 concerts."

But Sharma has made musical sorties to the West and experimented with fusion in the '60s. He made a record in 1967 that's still a best-seller. It's called *Song of the Valley* and was done with flutist Hari Prasad Chaurasia — who has also played here — and Brij Bhushan Kishore, a guitarist who played Indian classical music. In 1974, he says, he went to Europe with Ravi Shankar and George Harrison.

This is his first visit here, but Sharma is on the road about eight months of the year. The rest of the time he teaches santoor, hoping that his disciples will achieve "the sweet and delicate shadings" a California critic granted him.

## Prague provides another dose of choral envy

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

It is no secret that the one major field of classical music considerably lacking in our land is first-rate choral singing — and perhaps there's a reason.

Every Jewish mother used to — and maybe still does — send her son to learn piano or violin. We have great violinists and pianists as well as other instrumentalists and conductors.

But no one really went to study singing. In Europe, the choral tradition was established centuries ago and children sing in the

church from an early age. For us there is no such tradition.

There have always been choirs in Israel, but almost all of them are amateur, simply because the cultural agencies in our land have never seen a reason to seriously invest in creating professional choirs that could perform the great choral masterpieces with our orchestras on a regular basis.

Local music lovers crave this repertoire and more often than not must settle for mediocre performances.

This becomes even more apparent when first-rate choirs from Europe visit us.

In recent years the Prague Philharmonic Choir has become a sort of house chorus of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. Whenever the IPO plans to perform some of the most impressive works in the choral repertoire, it calls the 100-odd singers from Prague, and the result is glorious.

These Czech singers, who feel very much at home in our concert halls, and have already sung a wide repertoire with the IPO, are returning to perform Rossini's rarely heard *Sabat Mater*, under the baton of Daniel Oren.

Their singing will no doubt be impeccable; it always is. And all that will be left for us to do is envy them, for their centuries-old choral singing tradition, for their style and above all, for their glorious angelic voices.

Maybe in the future we will also have such choirs here, but by reading the current classical music map, I doubt it.

The Prague Philharmonic Choir sings Rossini's *Sabat Mater* with the IPO November 5, 7, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19 at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv, November 8 at the Jerusalem International Convention Center and November 11, 12 at the Haifa Auditorium.

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FROM THE REVIEWS:  
"A wise and amusing play with a director and cast that transform it into a fascinating production. It is truly difficult to know who to praise more: Ziv Meir as the son, in the portrayal of today's youth; Alon Ofir as the British Officer, in a role that demands song and dance as well as a convincing performance in English; Oran Shinar as the husband, who is credible in an intimate and tender masculinity; Shiri Golan as the young Michaela, a touching, naive rebel; Meir Guber as the sister, a fascinating figure of tragicomic relief with excellent timing and impressive dancing; Liora Galkale is the play's comic, whose beauty and talent capture the heart. Untold of all this, there is still Yossi Yadin, an outstanding actor who moves one to tears in the person of the aged Shaul." (Haaretz - Michael Handelskalk)

"Edna Mazza displays a marvelous dimension of humor... The director Omri Nitzan created a gripping play... But the real treasure is the outstanding cast..." (Haaretz - Eyalim Yaron)

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## Strategic dialogue

Like its title, the language of the Memorandum of Agreement signed by the United States and Israel on Saturday seems purposely bland and bureaucratic. It contains no sense of urgency or hint of the gravity of the subject matter, except for the chillingly routinized phrase: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Despite its understatement, the agreement could be an important step forward in addressing critical threats facing both nations.

The agreement, significantly, was signed by President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu rather than their respective defense ministers. It states two objectives: "Enhancing Israel's defensive and deterrent capabilities" and "Upgrading the framework of the US-Israel strategic and military relationships, as well as the technological cooperation between them." The agreement does not detail how these goals will be accomplished, but a joint statement released by the two leaders explains that "a strategic planning committee" will be established to "enhance cooperation in dealing with this potential threat [of weapons of mass destruction]." Given the already extensive US-Israeli military cooperation, the question is what this new layer might accomplish beyond already existing arrangements.

The last similar agreement, signed a decade ago, established the Joint Political-Military Group (JPMG), which became a fruitful forum for cooperation between mid-level defense officials from the two countries. The new forum will not replace the JPMG, but seems designed to create a new level of strategic dialogue, in addition to on-going military cooperation.

In principle, the creation of such a forum for strategic discussion between high-level policy makers could fill an important void. The question is whether this agreement will really place the strategic threats facing Israel on a higher plane among American priorities, and whether addressing those threats will become more of a cooperative process. For almost a year, for example, Israel warned the United States regarding Russian assistance to Iran's ballistic missile program. The US pressed the Russians at the highest levels to stop the assistance, but strongly resisted invoking any of sanctions at its disposal, out of fear that US-Russian relations would be harmed. Only after the US Congress passed legislation that would have required sanctions - despite a veto threat from the White

House - did Clinton invoke sanctions against the relevant Russian entities.

Though US policy in this case was partly driven by a general aversion to economic sanctions, it was also the result of a perceived conflict between US-Russian relations and the strategic goal of policing the global non-proliferation regime. Israel aside, it was folly for the US to act so indulgently toward flagrant Russian violations of its non-proliferation responsibilities, partly as an intentional effort to tweak the United States. But if the strategic threat to Israel were weighted higher in US priorities, the chances of firmer action in both nations' interests would be increased. In the case of Iraq, the flaccidity of US policy is self-contained, rather than a result of excessive obsequiousness toward a turbulent quasi-ally. If Saddam Hussein's recent announcement that he is suspending UN inspections entirely - coupled with the new evidence that he lied about not arming warheads with the chemical weapon VX - is not enough to spur US action, it is hard to imagine that closer consultations with Israel will do so either.

Though Israel has been instrumental in spurring the United States to take the Iranian missile threat more seriously, it has not taken as active a role in coordinating policy toward Iraq. Some of this reticence may be left over from the back seat taken by Israel during the Gulf War, and Israel is appropriately deferential when it comes to an American decision to use military force. But Israel could, like the US Congress, make a judgment independent from the Clinton administration regarding the viability of the Iraqi opposition.

Israel, along with countries such as Jordan, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia, can acquiesce in the Clinton administration's write-off of the Iraqi opposition, or they can take the view that, with a reasonable level of outside support, the Iraqi opposition could take advantage of Saddam's military weakness and the extreme discontent with his brutal regime. At the very least, a strategic dialogue worthy of the name would help both Israel and the United States consider regional threats more seriously. The United States would have to face more squarely the implications of avoiding action through ineffectual diplomacy; Israel would have to flesh out its own strategic thinking, rather than reflexively deferring to the US, even on matters that are critical to Israeli interests.

## True believers

YOSEF GOELL

What happens to deeply devoted true believers, who have sacrificed a good chunk of their lives towards the realization of their dreams, when the underpinnings of that dream are whisked out cruelly from under their feet?

This is exactly what has happened to the ideologically - almost religiously - motivated settlers in the territories following the Wye Agreement. The few thousand Gush Emunim settlers and the narrow peripheries around them truly believed that by their devotion and self-sacrifice they could guarantee that the territories which fell into Israel's hands as a result of the Six Day War in 1967 could be made to remain Israeli in perpetuity.

Those of us who never shared their dream, or who felt that it was deadly to Israel's broader interests, should not today be driven to the other extreme of denying the self-sacrifice and devotion of many of those who did. Nor should we reject the haunting similarities between the "messianically" driven Gush Emunim settlers and the revolutionary, romantic secular *halutzim* of the pre-state years whose similar self-sacrifices made the establishment of Israel possible. The 1993 Oslo Accords which were signed by the late Yitzhak Rabin were the first sign to some of the settler leaders that the eventual realization of the Gush Emunim dream was far from certain. Their faith in the realization of that dream was restored in 1996 following the narrow electoral victory of Benjamin Netanyahu and his Right-religious coalition. The signing of the Wye Agreement last month by Greater Land of Israel champions Netanyahu and Ariel Sharon seemed to provide final proof that the dream was a chimera that will never be realized.

We can gain the best understanding of what goes on in the minds and hearts of such true believers from the studies of various modern Christian cults whose leaders have

preached that "the end of the world is nigh" to their followers; and in fact not only "nigh" but will occur on November 2, 1998 at 2:14 p.m. sharp. What happens to the cult members when November 2nd comes around and the world in its sinful fullness is still with us at 2:15 p.m.? Studies show that only minorities of disappointed cult members angrily reject the charismatic preachers and dissociate themselves from the cult. An even smaller minority is at times driven to suicide when their entire belief world crumbles under their feet. But the majority of disappointed true believers either drop out quietly or regroup around their fundamental belief that "the end of the world is indeed nigh." They accept their preachers' explanation that some mistake must have been made in calculating the exact date, hour and minute of that cataclysmic event.

ONE of the most interesting developments of the past week is that it has been made absolutely clear that today's Likud, as represented by its Central Committee which gleefully supported Netanyahu and the agreement he brought back from Wye Plantation, is certainly not a party of true believers. Menachem Begin's Herut of the 1950s and '60s may have been one. Begin's son Ze'ev continues to be a true believer in the "old time" secular Jabotinskyite religion. However, his close friend and possible prime ministerial candidate, Dan Meridor, who has come down on the side of political pragmatism, is quite as clearly no longer one.

True believers in the idea of a God-promised Greater Land of Israel will henceforth be limited to the messianic religious Right. How they will choose to react to the dashing of their dreams will make a fascinating study. There will clearly be a tendency among some of them towards an intensification of their political radicalism and religious fundamentalism. On the outer extremes one may even expect

## Dry Bones



assassination plots against those from within their own camp who have dashed those dreams. There is a debate currently going on among the leadership of Gush Emunim, the Council of Jewish Communities of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, and the National Religious Party as to whether to make the pragmatic best of a disastrous political situation or to invest their energy primarily in punishing Netanyahu, Sharon and other such "traitors" at any cost.

These are dangerous prospects, and should be guarded against by stepped up infiltration of the inner circles of these groups by the GSS. But a much more interesting prospect may be the emergence of new political and rabbinical leaders who would seek to redirect the

energy and devotion of these "true believers" to other, no less important but more achievable, dreams and goals.

As paradoxical and unrealistic as it may sound today, the dashing of the hopes of the national Orthodox in their two-decades old alliance with the Likud and the secular nationalist Right raises the prospect of the renewal of their older tie with a pioneering socially-minded Israeli Left. Whether such a prospect will actually come to fruition will depend to no little extent on whether the leadership of such a Left consciously refrains from repeating Yitzhak Rabin's mistake of openly disdaining and seeking to marginalize the defeated "true believers" in the national religious camp.

## From honest broker to judge

DAVID KIMCHE

One of the stories being bandied about in the wake of the Wye Agreement is of a teacher in a first grade class recounting the story of the rebellion of the Maccabees against the Greeks. One of the children raised his hand and said: "Teacher, teacher, I have a question. Who did the Americans support, the Maccabees or the Greeks?"

Given the unprecedented role assigned to the Americans in the aftermath of Wye, any six-year old could be forgiven for asking such a question. In times to come, when peace reigns over our land, the Wye Agreement will be remembered not only for having broken the logjam that had held up the peace process, but particularly as the agreement which placed in the hands of a third party the responsibility for an essential element of that process.

Both for the CIA and for Israel, the agreement reached at Wye was unprecedented. By calling on the CIA to monitor the Palestinians' compliance with the security arrangements, it elevated the role of the US from honest broker between Israel and the PA to being judge.

The CIA, and not Israel, will decide whether the Palestinians are fulfilling their side of the bargain. The Americans, and not the Palestinians, will be our counterparts in arguments over security defaults. They will either accept our complaints or dismiss them.

For a clandestine organization which has been devoted first and foremost to the collection and evaluation of intelligence, this role is unusual to the extreme and reflects

the change that has overtaken intelligence organizations since the end of the cold war.

The CIA had, it is true, acted as matchmaker in the first encounters between the Israeli and Palestinian intelligence communities. The first meetings with Amin al-Hindi were overseen by CIA operatives. They have, moreover, given help to the fledgling Palestinian organization just as, more than forty years ago, they had given basic courses to

umpled at the Madrid Peace Conference, namely a policy of direct negotiations between us and our Arab neighbors without having a third party between us. Neither Yitzhak Shamir nor Yitzhak Rabin would have compromised on such a basic policy directive, certainly not with regards to such a sensitive subject as security interests.

Every terrorist attack will now become an issue not only between us and the Palestinians but also between us and the US

**Every terrorist attack will now become an issue not only between us and the Palestinians but also between us and the US**

Mossad operatives after Teddy Kollek, then an official in David Ben-Gurion's Prime Minister's Office, had first established contact between Israel and the CIA.

Giving help, exchanging intelligence, cooperating in the field has been an accepted norm of behavior not only of the CIA but of all major intelligence organizations, especially since international terrorism became a worldwide problem. Acting as judges is, however, a completely different kettle of fish.

FOR Israel, too, the decision to bestow upon the CIA the role of referee between the Palestinians and ourselves is a departure from a policy that had been almost sacrosanct for us, a policy that tri-

between us and the Americans. We will call "foul" and claim a contravention of the agreement. The Americans may reply that the Palestinians did their utmost to prevent the attack and cannot be blamed for having failed. We will demand retribution; the Americans may disagree.

An American expert on intelligence matters wrote that each terrorist bombing in Jerusalem will now become a bill that the Israelis can present to the Americans. This does not bode well for future relations with the US, especially as the CIA operatives overseeing security arrangements here may well be inclined to side with the Palestinian underdog, at our expense.

There can, unfortunately, be little

doubt that with or without the CIA we will witness more terrorist attacks. After the Wye Agreement the enemies of peace will have added incentive to do everything in their power to halt the march towards peace.

In fairness to our negotiators at Wye Plantation, it must be said that the sad fact is that without CIA involvement in the security arrangements, it would probably have been impossible to have reached an agreement at all. The loss of all confidence and trust between Israelis and Palestinians had reached such a level that only by placing the Americans in the key role of monitors or referees between us could a deal be struck.

This has been the dismal outcome of two years of foot-dragging and procrastination. This has been the so-called tremendous achievement which the present government has attained, the great improvement over Oslo. There is no knowing what we might have achieved had we waited a few months more!

An agreement with CIA involvement is better than no agreement at all, and we must therefore make the best of the new situation and prevent a souring of relations with the Americans. Given the new role of the CIA, this will not be easy.

Continuing good relations with the Americans, however, is one of the most strategic assets that we have. These must not be endangered no matter how difficult the new *dance-a-trois* into which we have maneuvered ourselves may prove to be.

## Jonathan Pollard's Starr Report

ALAN DERSHOWITZ

As President Bill Clinton considers whether to release Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard - who has already been imprisoned longer than anyone who pleaded guilty to spying for an ally ever has - he should heed the lessons of his own case. President Clinton has, quite properly, ruled against the Starr Report for its one-sidedness, its unfairness and its inaccuracy. The accusations currently being leveled against Jonathan Pollard suffer from the same defects.

On the basis of rumor, innuendo and classified information, Pollard's enemies are providing an entirely false and misleading picture of his crimes. Here are some of the untruths which are currently being circulated:

1. Joseph diGenova, who prosecuted Pollard - and who, pursuant to a plea bargain, recommended a sentence of less than life imprisonment - now claims that Pollard "put at risk the lives of seamen, Air Force men, Marines and army personnel of the United States all over the world." This is flat-out false, and I challenge diGenova to provide evidence that even a single person died as a result of Pollard. diGenova himself has changed his story at least three times. First, he said that Soviet citizens who were spying for the US - not American soldiers - had been placed at risk. Then he acknowledged - in a

public debate with me - that no one had actually been placed at risk.

And now, on the basis of no new information, he makes the outrageous claim that US soldiers were put at risk. I have been assured, by people at the highest levels of our intelligence community, that no one has died as the result of Pollard. It was originally believed that the names of some Soviets who had spied for the US were disclosed by Pollard, but now it has been proven that these names were actually turned over to the KGB by Aldrich Ames.

2. Many of Pollard's enemies are saying that he did it for the money. That, too, is flat-out false. He provided Israel with classified documents about Iraq, Syria, and other Arab countries, which he believed were essential to Israel's security. His motivation was misguided ideology, not financial greed: he asked for no money when he first provided the material. It was his Israeli handler who insisted on giving him relatively small amounts of money. That is what spy handlers do, in order to eliminate any moral responsibility in the event the spy is caught. I don't know anyone who believes that if Syria or Iraq had offered Pollard a million dollars, he would have given them anything.

3. Some senators and congressmen have said that Pollard provided information about China and South Africa. That too is false, as a review of the case file will confirm.

4. Some have said that Pollard continued to disclose classified material while he was in prison. That is impossible, since every phone call, letter and visit has been monitored by national security personnel.

5. diGenova has claimed that the information Pollard "knew today" is still secret, and that he poses "a continuing threat to the security of this country." Yet in a television debate with me, diGenova agreed that enough time had passed to "declassify" the records of the case without endangering our security in any way. The truth is that Pollard's information is 13 years old, and he knows nothing which would endanger our security.

THE last time President Clinton reviewed the case, he heard from only one side - the prosecutors, intelligence operatives, and defense people who want to keep Pollard in prison for the rest of his life. Indeed, a recommendation more sympathetic to Pollard was written by Philip Heymann, then the No. 2 person at the Department of Justice. As far as I know, the president never saw the

Heymann memorandum. This time, he should listen to both sides. He should obtain the Heymann memorandum from the Justice Department, listen to the arguments of Pollard's advocates, and make an assessment based on all the evidence - not just the analog of the one-sided Starr Report.

President Clinton should also review the unfair tactics employed by the prosecution in this case. They broke their plea bargain - their promise - to Pollard. In the plea bargain, the government promised not to seek life imprisonment, but the prosecutor then double-crossed Pollard by submitting an affidavit from then-Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger which demanded the harshest possible penalty.

This and other double-dealing led a judge of the Court of Appeals to characterize "the government's breach of the plea bargain (as) a fundamental miscarriage of justice." The two other judges strongly implied that the life sentence was too harsh, but declined to interfere on procedural grounds. Now the president has an opportunity to correct this miscarriage of justice by commuting Pollard's sentence to the 13 years he has already served.

The writer served as one of Pollard's lawyers in the early 1990s. (United Feature Syndicate)

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### ROAD DISCOURTESY

Sir, - I fully agree with Prof. L.P. Horwitz (Poor Teaching).

When I made aliya two years ago, I was appalled with the Israeli standard of driving. I now know why the horrible accident statistics are what they are.

My instructor was very concerned about the things that the "tester" would be watching for. There was no instruction about the basic courtesies that should be extended on the road: giving the right of way, even though such right is yours; assisting an overtaking vehicle by falling back to let it pass (even if the overtaker was in the wrong).

As for the discourtesies: changing lanes unexpectedly, because turn signals are applied at the last second expecting an overtaking motorist to fall back - signals do not automatically allow right of way, but only signify intentions; poor parking - taking two spaces and never mind the next driver; abrupt stopping in the middle of the road to greet a friend and have a chat - never mind the car behind; the driver should have been watching; indiscriminate honking for the smallest thing, particularly not moving off fast enough when the light turns green.

When instructors start teaching road sense and the pupils start applying it, fewer people will die before their time and horrible injuries will diminish.

R.MOSKOVITZ

Ashkelon.

### MY WISH LIST

Sir, - In response to "A Palestinian wish list" by Daoud Kuttab that appeared in *The Jerusalem Post* of October 15, 1998, I hope you do not mind if I make a wish list of my own.

I wish that the Arabs would stop blowing up cafes, buses, cars, men, women, children, and anything else that can go boom in the air.

I wish that the Arabs would stop all illegal construction - it is after all disputed territory.

I wish that the distribution of the book called *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* be stopped in Egypt, in Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries.

I wish that the Egyptian press would diminish its virulent anti-Jewish propaganda. The Palestinians too, I understand, are not innocent in this matter, but promote a culture of incitement and hatred toward Jews.

Above all, I wish that the Palestinian Authority would stop trying to take Jerusalem away from us. PA Chairman Yasser Arafat always is claiming that he is not asking for the moon, all he

wants is a piece of Jerusalem. But to ask of us a piece of Jerusalem is to ask of us to part with a dream and a hope that sustained us and nourished us for countless generations.

Jerusalem was nothing to the Arabs - nothing but a small backwater neglected little town, important to none, the capital of none. They neglected it, in part and in whole. They refused to develop the parts that they had in their possession. They destroyed at the first opportunity those parts that clearly were not theirs to destroy, our synagogues, our holy places, our homes and our cemeteries.

Sometimes I also wish that there was a single Arab daily anywhere in the Moslem world that would permit on a regular basis articles by a Jewish writer. The writer would present to the Moslem world a Jewish viewpoint. He would not necessarily have to be as biased and prejudiced as Daoud Kuttab.

ANATOL FELDMAN

Pardesiya.

### STUDENT LOANS

Sir, - Your suggestion that students receive government loans "Striking students," (October 26) is an excellent suggestion.

In California, my home ground, many students could never make it through college without a government loan. My son had more than half his tuition through M.I.T. paid for with the loan. The stipulation

was that he pay back the loan within 10 years after getting a job. There were also grants from fraternal organizations and private funds to gifted students.

Giving student loans should get the green light!

BEN GALE

Jerusalem.

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On November 2, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported that in view of the vastly exaggerated Arab press accounts of the Jaffa demonstration of October 28, the government had decided to publish a gazette in Arabic.

50 years ago: On November 2, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that while the IDF

had refused to withdraw from the Negev, a new plan which virtually killed the Bernadotte report was submitted to the UN Security Council by Dr. Ralph Bunche, the Acting Mediator. It provided for an armistice, separation and demobilization of forces and an Arab-Jewish agreement to negotiate peace.

25 years ago: On November 2, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that two Egyptian warships - a destroyer and a frigate, blocked Israeli ships in the Bab el-Mandeb Straits, on their way to Eilat. The US State Department said that Bab el-Mandeb is an international waterway and that this blockade violated international law.

Alexander Zivlil

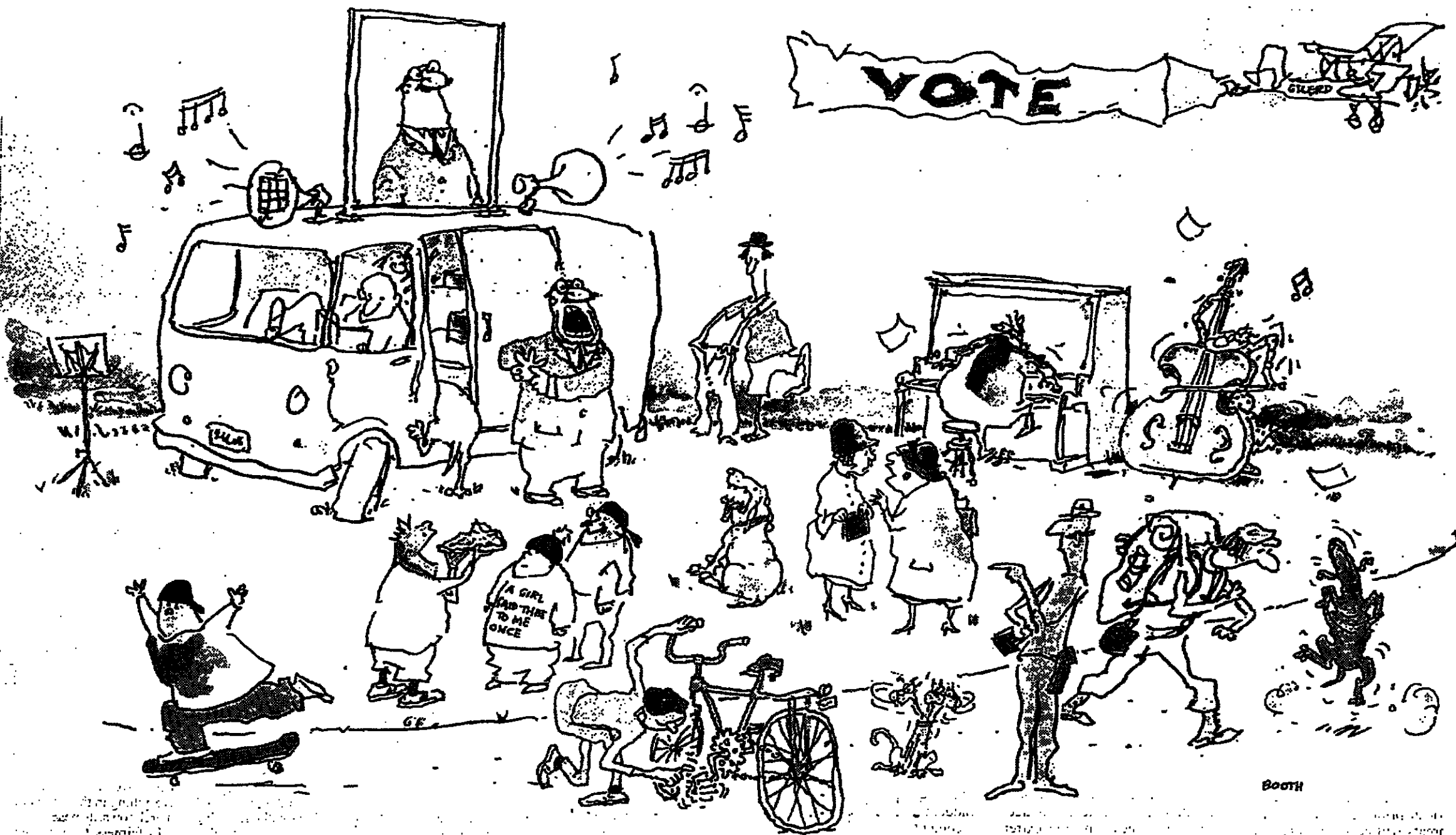
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## Yawning in America

# Politicians Curse the Darkness as the Sun Shines



By RICHARD L. BERKE

**R**EPRESENTATIVE JOHN LINDER of Georgia, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, perhaps said it best, and certainly most succinctly, when he was asked last week which issue was dominating the elections on Tuesday.

"Nothing," he said.  
Yet the prevailing sense of a fat and happy — and uninterested — electorate clashes weirdly with the dire, often despairing, warnings from candidates that have marked this campaign season. With undiminished fervor, politicians have been loudly proclaiming one calamity after another, offering themselves as salvation from, take your pick: the health care crisis; the education crisis; the Social Security crisis; the moral crisis; the crisis in the environment; the crisis in international markets.

The upshot of this struggle to stir voters' souls seems to be that voters are less inclined to stir at all. Forecasts of a particularly paltry turnout this year may not stem simply from a lack of compelling issues, but from candidates flogging the notion of a sick nation at a time when voters seem to be saying that they and their country feel just fine.

Negative campaigning, the ubiquitous politics of personal attack, is one thing, and it has been well noted by pundits, pollsters and the like. But there is a different sort of negativity issuing from Federal, state and local campaigns, and it has been less remarked upon.

"Candidates of both parties have been going out of their way to manufacture crises where they just don't exist," said Dan Schur, a strategist for the California Republican Party. "You can't convince people to be frightened when they know there isn't any reason to be."

Politicians appear to have learned well the modern politics of crisis — from earlier hard economic times, the turmoil of the 1960's, the cold war, ideological struggles over the welfare state. But there is plenty of

historical evidence to suggest that optimism trumps pessimism in American politics, from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan on down — even to President Clinton, who won re-election in 1996 with a relatively upbeat campaign.

In 1980, voters were not roused by President Jimmy Carter's declaration of national malaise and his proclamation of energy problems so profound that they had to be attacked with "the moral equivalent of war." They instead turned to Mr. Reagan, who assured them that America stood proud and strong.

### Cheery Is Effective

Remember Mr. Reagan's re-election drive of 1984? In one commercial, lilting music played in the background. A bride and groom kissed softly at the altar. The sun shone on San Francisco Bay. "It's morning again in America," the announcer said cheerily. "And under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, our country is prouder and stronger and better. Why would we ever want to return to

where we were less than four short years ago?"

Insisting that that was a fraudulent picture of America, Geraldine A. Ferraro, the Democratic nominee for Vice President, said in a debate with Vice President George Bush, "Things are not as great as the Administration is wanting us to believe in their television commercials." Voters chose optimism.

There is always a risk of a candidate appearing too sunny when, even in a time of relative prosperity, things are not perfect. President George Bush was defeated in 1992 in part because people thought he did not demonstrate enough concern about the recession.

But these days, 85 percent of Americans are satisfied with the way things are going in their personal lives, according to the Gallup Poll. And their satisfaction with the country in general is unmatched since the euphoria just after the Persian Gulf war in 1991 (before things turned sour for President Bush).

"The dawn is a lot brighter in '98 than it was in '84 for

Continued on Page 12.

### Sticks and Stones

In Israel, words, too, break bones.

By Deborah Sontag

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To Be or To Not Be Grammar has rules. This isn't one of them.

By Patricia T. O'Conner

11

Divide and Conquer Once again, Saddam splits the opposition.

By Youssef M. Ibrahim

10

### Heavenly Rewards

## Shilling the Right Stuff

By WILLIAM J. BROAD

**T**HE European Space Agency labored in obscurity for many years, achieving dozens of feats in the heavens that were ignored by most Europeans. Then, in 1993, Europe's first astronaut soared into space aboard a shuttle. Suddenly, millions of television viewers across the continent were glued to their sets, watching a good-looking European explorer risk life and limb on the high frontier.

Officials at the agency's headquarters in Paris were ecstatic. Eager for more, they quickly got the same religion as their counterparts in America, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which long ago had mastered the art of promoting space-age heroism. Belatedly, the Europeans discovered that public enthusiasm for sending people into space, a venture steeped in risk and danger, drama and the right stuff, was a sure way to win political support for space exploration and its great costs.

"Two years ago nobody would have dreamed of actively pursuing this kind of program," Jacques Collet, the head of long-term planning for the European Space Agency, said shortly after the televised coup prompted the agency to plan dozens of astronaut flights.

Last week the agency's officials turned out in force at Cape Canaveral, Fla., for another lesson in space-agency showmanship as NASA skillfully orchestrated both a high-stakes

drama and a world-class nostalgia trip by sending 77-year-old John Glenn back into orbit.

For Mr. Glenn's flight aboard the space shuttle Discovery, NASA succeeded in drawing to Florida an estimated 250,000 people and one of the largest contingents of journalists (2,500) ever to cover a space launching. But even on slow days, the agency has managed to turn the Kennedy Space Center into a top tourist attraction, with tour buses and souvenir shops, its attendance somewhere behind that of Disney World.

### NASA the Tour

NASA's public-affairs and educational arms, with hundreds of employees coast to coast after 40 years of growth, are the envy of other Federal agencies. They give tours, publish magazines, set up satellite feeds for television networks, develop course material for teachers, run Internet Web sites, promote high-tech gadgetry and regularly hustle out astronauts to meet an admiring public.

Critics say the agency's celebrity culture and love of the entertainment side of exploration are stifling the more challenging work of sending humans and robotic probes to study distant worlds.

"This is an agency that's living in the past," said Alex Roland, a former NASA historian who heads the history department at Duke University. "They're endlessly repeating the Apollo formula — sending up astronauts, taking pictures and then sending them out on lecture tours."

Yet the shuttle flights always have a hefty dose of legitimate science. In this case, it is aging research with Senator Glenn, and dozens of other experiments.

But science aside, NASA is heavy with television crews and telegenic space voyagers, and it knows exactly how to go about building a political constituency to support its hefty budget, which at \$13.7 billion this year is down from old heights.

So do a growing number of space agencies around the world that are happy to follow the leader and grab onto NASA's lavish coattails; the shuttles alone have cost American

Continued on Page 11



Clockwise from above left, a toy replica of the Mars rover; breakfast cereal, a fantastical toy robot and lunch boxes that feature the space shuttle.

Photographs by Justin Lane for the New York Times



# The World

## Israelis Get an Eerie Reminder That Words Do Kill

By DEBORAH SONTAG

**J**ERUSALEM LIFE in Israel has the jangled energy of a bad traffic jam, and public debate is led by the guys who lean on their horns.

The volume is high, the emotions are high and the stakes are high. Maybe that is why Israeli political discourse is world-class vitriol — one part rank ad hominem insult, one part invective-laden rhetoric. One day, leaders issue witheringly insulting personal remarks against each other only to join hands in alliance the next.

Against this backdrop comes an interesting and even poignant sensitivity to the relationship between language that incites and actual violence. The topic has dominated the public conversation here for the last week, as Israelis have grappled with the idea that their democracy exists in a special, fragile context that might be at odds with their visceral impulse toward the freest of speech.

### A Creepy Echo

Since Benjamin Netanyahu returned from Washington with a signed peace agreement, he has been the subject of rabid protest and threats from the far right, particularly the radicals of the Jewish settler movement. In demonstrations, on the radio and at a funeral for a terrorism victim, the language used to attack the Prime Minister has had a creepy echo for most Israelis. The words are the same ones that were used against Yitzhak Rabin after he brought home the Oslo interim peace accord in 1993.

Specifically, Mr. Netanyahu has been called a traitor, a betrayer, a perpetrator not only of treason but of "a blunder unlike any in the history of Zionism." Settlers have called for "revenge." They blamed him for "spilling the blood" of an Israeli murdered by a terrorist. And they used loaded references, comparing Mr. Netanyahu's relationship with Yasir Arafat to Neville Chamberlain's with Hitler, just as they once greeted Mr. Rabin by holding black umbrellas, à la Chamberlain, over their heads.

Three years after Prime Minister Rabin's assassination on Nov. 4, with a nationwide memorial service scheduled for today, this unnerves people here because there is a lingering sense that this kind of language incited his assassin, Yigal Amir — that it roused him and led him to believe he was justified in committing a murder on behalf of the nation. And there is an unresolved guilt that no one took the threats against Mr.



Right-wing Israelis. Like this protester near Benjamin Netanyahu's residence, have begun demonizing the Prime Minister.

Rabin seriously enough, not the Government, the media or the General Security Services.

In the last week, all have decided that it would be more prudent to risk overreacting this time. The ring of bodyguards surrounding Mr. Netanyahu and his ministers has expanded and tightened. Commentators noted that the General Security Services will let Mr. Netanyahu visit Yasir Arafat in Gaza, but won't let him go near Hebron, home of an angry Jewish settlement.

Even the chief rabbis weighed in, publish-

ing an official statement on Thursday that prohibits the use of "insults such as traitor," terming them "dishonorable to the Bible."

### Threats and Slander

And the Attorney General opened several criminal investigations into threats and slander, dusting off a legal statute that has been on the books since the days of the British mandate. It allows prosecutors to bring charges of incitement against those who use

particularly strong language against public officials, but, even in the wake of the Rabin assassination, they were loath to use it.

Many Israelis, even as they fear prosecution of speech as a brake on their free-tongued society, endorse some kind of rein on the vehement language of the protesters and on their right to organize.

"Without hysteria, and without giving up on the bedrock of democratic government, now is the time to make use of the laws that allow for the arrest, until their anger sub-

sides, of people who threaten not only law and order, but also the lives of the leaders of the state," Yosef Lapid, a veteran columnist for the newspaper Maariv, argued last week. "The General Security Services and the police need to take off their kid gloves and strike at the dens of the inciters, before we are all sorry it was not done soon enough."

The discussion about words and deeds in Israel resembles one that takes place in the United States and elsewhere when zealots turn to violence amid an especially inflamed debate. That happened in upstate New York last week after a doctor who performed abortions was murdered.

But in Israel the issue carries a particular double edge. A commitment to almost raucous discourse is seen as a hallmark of a

### Netanyahu now faces epithets just like the ones hurled at Rabin.

society that considers itself the only democracy in the Middle East. But Israelis have a deep-seated fear, based on experience, that the connection between hate speech and violent acts is an intimate one: In a Maariv poll, 81 percent of those surveyed said they believe there has been incitement against Mr. Netanyahu and 60 percent believe it likely that someone will try to assassinate him.

Underpinning this concern is a concomitant belief that the tone is set from on high, by politicians who routinely call each other liars, crybabies and cretins. Some have suggested that the ugly language of the far right is just the end of a continuum that begins on the marble floor of the Parliament. Tsahi Hanegbi, the Justice Minister, in fact, called on the Parliament to police its own oratory, warning that the political debate sounds like that which spilled out into the streets in the months before the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin.

"Who would have believed," Mr. Lapid asked, "when the whole state shuddered in the wake of the Rabin murder, that three years later the public memorial service in his memory would be a security danger for the public figures attending?"

This carries a final irony, since some Israelis, notably Leah Rabin, the former Prime Minister's widow, believe that it was Mr. Netanyahu himself whose charged rhetoric created the climate of incitement that inspired Yigal Amir.

### Saddam Hussein, Tactician

## Dividing Is One Thing. Conquering Is Something Else.

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM

**"D**IVIDE and conquer" is an ancient tactic that Saddam Hussein refined into an art form as a dictator in Iraq.

Now, it seems, it has done him good service in aggravating the United States and its one-time allies as they struggle to keep him in the corner where they put him after the Persian Gulf war.

These days, it seems, there are mostly divisions in the complicated apparatus designed to prevent him from acquiring new weapons of mass destruction or the economic power with which to develop them.

Members of the transatlantic and Arab coalition that once fought him often seem at odds with each other — so much so that they have not yet been able to force him down from his latest efforts to wriggle out of arms-control inspections.

The Security Council, which enforces economic sanctions against Iraq, has been tied into knots as a result. And the bureaucrats charged with administering sanctions have begun to bicker among themselves.

But none of this means Mr. Hussein has freed himself either of the sanctions imposed on him after the war, or of limits on his ability to produce weapons.

However clever he has been in exploiting divisions among the forces arrayed against him, he still has not converted his tactical maneuvers into a lasting turnaround in his fortunes. And the United States, his principal adversary, shows no sign of relenting in its refusal to re-admit him to the company of civilized rulers.

### Two Schools of Thought

In the United States, two schools of thought seem to have emerged from the West's tepid response to Mr. Hussein's latest challenge.

One holds that Mr. Hussein stands on the brink of a major breakout into new power, with the sanctions regime moribund and the arms-limitation regime collapsing. The other holds that even without effective arms inspection, Mr. Hussein will be little threat because he is still under the West's stern watch and sanctions.

In fact, the real prospect may be for something quite different: Contin-

ued slow and disconcerting Iraqi gains in the face of Western disunity, followed by tactical maneuvering by the United States aimed at frustrating Iraq all the same. And, in the process, a lot of confusion about who is really winning the game.

### No Fire This Time

Look at the situation now. Since August, Mr. Hussein has halted all new arms inspections by the United Nations Special Commission. American officials, who have not responded with military threats, fear he may freeze monitoring, and he has hinted his next step may be to throw arms inspectors out of the country.

The quiet response this time stands in contrast to what happened in February, when Mr. Hussein suspended inspections of his presidential palaces and was forced to back down by American military threats. But that very experience that helps explain why the response is so muted now.

The lesson drawn here seems to have been not so much what was gained by resisting Mr. Hussein so boldly, but what it cost, both in bargaining power (he got a doubling of the quota of oil he could export in exchange for food) and in unity.

For one thing, Mr. Hussein extracted the direct involvement of the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, as a new layer of officialdom with whom to deal, between him and the arms-control officials. And the United States and Britain were deeply impressed by how little their arguments for using force had moved the other three permanent members of the Security Council, Russia, France and China, let alone the Arab countries and Iran.

In other words, there were divisions within the coalition that fought Mr. Hussein in 1990, and Mr. Hussein had only to wait for a new chance to exploit them.

And that is what he did. His next move was made when Washington was distracted by a sex scandal, Europeans were up in arms at American use of sanctions against Cuba and Iran, and Arabs were seething over the stalled progress toward an Israeli-Palestinian peace.

This time, though, American officials turned out to be more sensitive to keeping the Russians and French on board than to any effort to contain Mr. Hussein, even if that meant waning down the effort itself.



Iraq is challenging inspections like the ones in 1996 that resulted in destruction of materials useful for making biological weapons.

So while this allowed Mr. Hussein to challenge the arms inspectors, there is also cause for some frustration among Mr. Hussein's representatives here; the West was not split as it was last time, and Iraq is no closer to an end of sanctions.

On the other hand, new frictions have begun to show.

### Telegraphing Punches

At the arms-control agency, the forceful Australian diplomat who has been its leader, Richard Butler, now finds himself not so much an accuser as the accused. One of the agency's chief inspectors, a former United

States Marine named Scott Ritter, has quit, saying Mr. Butler and company have gone soft on Mr. Hussein.

Russia, France and China, on the other hand, continue to say Mr. Butler's agency has been too hard on the Iraqis. In the absence of an ability to corner the Iraqis with intrusive surprise inspections, the agency has taken to telegraphing its punches for publicity effect.

Last month, another United Nations agency charged with distributing food in Iraq also imploded in controversy.

Denis Halliday, who managed the United Nations oil-for-food program in Iraq, resigned in anger, calling the

sanctions regime a cruel farce that was destroying the Iraqi people while leaving the leadership intact. In effect, this pitted a United Nations humanitarian-aid official against the organization's arms-control officials, for whom maintaining sanctions is the key to keeping pressure on Iraq.

At this point, some Middle East experts say the initiative clearly has passed to the Iraqis. "They are setting the agenda," said Judith Kipper of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "They cause armies to move or withdraw, they sell oil, they have allies in the Security Council and in the region."

What comes next? A senior Iraqi official gave this answer: Iraq will further erode the sanctions and create more confrontations. "We can choose where," the official said. "We know the United States wants to keep the sanctions forever, but how much is it willing to pay for that?"

Maybe more than the Iraqis think. "I would say Iraq has changed the ground rules of the game," said an ambassador from an Arab country that was in the 1991 coalition. "But is there light at the end of the tunnel? Not as long as Saddam is there, because the United States has built him into public enemy No. 1 and the Americans too cannot climb down."



# Ideas & Trends

## It's Just Fine to Boldly Go

By PATRICIA T. O'CONNOR

**F**OR grammarians, lexicographers and linguists, it's the Thing That Will Not Die. Just when they think it's buried once and for all, the corpse rises again to haunt a new generation.

The creature walking among us, if you haven't already guessed, is the old "rule" of grammar that says we shouldn't split an infinitive. It's been pronounced dead every few years for more than a century, but it just won't be laid to rest.

In the hearts of true believers, it's still a sin to ever put an adverb (like "ever") between the word "to" and the infinitive form of a verb.

The latest post-mortem comes from Oxford University Press, which publishes the granddaddy of dictionaries, the Oxford English Dictionary, as well as baby dictionaries of every size and description.

A couple of Oxford's new dictionaries — one just published here and one published in Britain in August — include usage notes about the split infinitive that essentially reiterate what their predecessors have said: Rule? What rule? (Or words to that effect.)

The wording in the new books, the Oxford American Desk Dictionary and the New Oxford Dictionary of English, is only slightly stronger than in previous ver-

sions, but the message is the same: If it sounds good to split, go ahead and do it.

The editors at Oxford didn't expect the new usage notes to excite a lot of comment. But then, they didn't count on the power of a sales pitch. "Infinitives should be split," trumpeted a news release introducing the British dictionary. The hyperbolic headline not only overemphasized the issue but also overstated the case.

At any rate, what was old news in the world of lexicography — the demise of the split-infinitive taboo — apparently came as a surprise to the English-speaking world at large. The response from the British press and dozens of American newspapers, as well as countless Internet users, was a collective "Good golly!" The opinions quoted in the articles ranged from disgust ("I do not dine with people who split infinitives") to delight ("I think it's terrific").

Frank R. Abate, editor in chief of Oxford's dictionary programs in this country, has spent much of his time lately answering calls from reporters about the American book. "You'd think we were splitting the atom or something," he said.

So what's all the fuss about? Not much, it turns out. Grammarians have argued until they were blue in the face that you can't really split an infinitive, since "to" isn't part of the infinitive. Sometimes it's not present at all. In a sentence like "I helped him to break the code," the "to" could easily be dropped. And in sentences like "I let him break the code" and "I saw him break the code," the infinitive (break) must go it alone.



Smart Goldenberg

Technicalities aside, what we call a split infinitive has been around a lot longer than its detractors. Writers used it with impunity from the 1300's until well into the 19th century. All that changed in 1864, when the Dean of Canterbury, Henry Alford, published a widely popular grammar book called "A Plea for the Queen's English." Alford, a classics scholar who sought to civilize the English of Shakespeare and Milton by imposing on it the rules of Latin grammar, couldn't bear to see an adverb slip between "to" and an infinitive. (Latin infinitives, you see, have no such prepositional markers.)

As early as 1868, grammarians were challenging Alford's edict, arguing that one can't graft Latin sentence structure onto English, a language that's essentially Germanic. But the damage had been done. The ban on splitting infinitives was firmly planted in the popular imagination. So were other leftover Latinisms, including the prohibition against ending a sentence with a preposition.

Early in this century, such heavyweights as the

linguist Otto Jespersen, the British lexicographer Henry Fowler and the American grammarian and philologist George O. Curme argued that splitting is not only acceptable but often preferable. Most 20th-century dictionaries and style guides agree that clarity is what counts. There's a difference, for instance, between "He learned to quickly read" and "He learned quickly to read." And when "quickly" comes at the end, it could refer to either the learning or the reading.

What won't come quickly, one suspects, is an end to the splitting headache. George Bernard Shaw, a perennial sufferer, once complained to The Times of London about an overzealous editor with a wooden ear: "There is a pedant on your staff who spends far too much of his time searching for split infinitives. Every good literary craftsman uses a split infinitive if he thinks the sense demands it. I call for this man's instant dismissal; it matters not whether he decides to quickly go or to go quickly or quickly to go. Go he must, and at once."



Smart Isaac/Sygnas for The New York Times

Degrading images of women can be commonplace in Tokyo; here, a cartoon of a uniformed high-school girl on a massage-parlor ad.

### Women's Work in Japan

## Serving Tea, Swallowing Insults

By SHERYL WUDUNN

**T**HEY take pictures of her long thighs as she climbs into limousines. They capture shots of her sitting in revealingly short skirts, and they dub her the Madonna of the Cabinet.

It is not exactly the most respectful way to treat Seiko Noda, Minister of Post and Telecommunications and Japan's youngest Cabinet minister since the end of World War II. But, then, the idea of sexual harassment is not foremost in the minds of the mostly male Japanese media, particularly at the weekly magazines.

Women often complain that working women have a tougher time in Japan than in any other industrialized country. While there has been some improvement in recent years, the Japanese Government is now trying to confront the issue by releasing new guidelines in an effort to bar sexual harassment.

There is no clear gauge for measuring how common sexual harassment is in Japan compared to other countries, but some statistics are striking: One in seven women surveyed in Government offices said they had been pressured into a sexual relationship by men at work, according to a recent official investigation. A more common complaint, cited by two out of three women, is that they've been sexually harassed by men touching their bodies at work.

The guidelines will go into effect a year from now at Government offices throughout the country, and they have also been drawing the attention of Japanese companies, which have drawn up new — though much less strict — rules as well. The result is a great deal of grumbling by men ("If you say this is sexual harassment, then we might as well not utter a word!" one woman was told by a male boss), as well as a feeling by many women that the rules aren't tough enough.

### No Promotions Here

In some ways, Japan has fewer problems than the United States. Sexual blackmail, in which bosses dangle a promotion or a new assignment in exchange for sex, is not as

widespread at large corporations. One reason is that bosses in such companies have no direct control over promotions because all major assignments are determined by a centralized personnel department.

So even if many women find themselves under pressure to sleep with their bosses, giving in to the pressure is unlikely to advance their careers much. But whether they give in often affects the kinds of tasks they are given. In many companies, women are mostly on an "office lady" track, where they have few opportunities to advance — a limitation that perhaps reflects traditional, discriminatory attitudes toward women that underlie the harassment.

"There are Japanese people who still think that women are just cute and obedient," said Minako Nishijima, a senior official at Nikkeiren, Japan's largest labor union. "That kind of thinking has been accepted without resistance throughout history."

Japan is not remotely a litigious society, and few women have taken their complaints to court. Even if they win, the compensation awards are tiny compared to those in America. "In Japanese society, people like to settle disputes as amicably and harmoniously as possible," said Pauline Reich, a professor at Waseda University School of Law.

Still, a fear of lawsuits has led many Japanese companies to consider buying insurance that could cover them if an employee sues for sexual harassment.

In a society where the word for wife, "oku-san," literally means "Mrs. In-the-Back-of-the-House," the Government's new sexual harassment policy marks a major new step. Under the new guidelines, women in Government offices can no longer be forced to serve tea or run personal errands. And men will no longer be able to ask questions about sexual experience, or show off obscene posters or magazine photos.

Still, attitudes will be hard to change. It used to be that many women were under pressure to quit work when they got married. These days they can work, but pressure to resign comes when they have children.

"Surprisingly, even at the age of 30, a woman can be called 'old,'" said Yoko Nohara. "And she can be told, 'There is no position for you.'"

A 25-year-old college graduate who worked as a clerk at a small distribution company for nearly four years recalled similar intrusions into her private life.

"Those bosses would say, 'Why don't you get married?'" she said. "If we take a holiday, they ask, 'Are you having an arranged blind date?'"

Many men presumably think they are just being friendly, but young women often resent such questions as intrusive. Many women also complain that they are always the ones asked to serve food or drink.

### Drinks and Songs

The 25-year-old employee, who spoke on the condition she not be identified, said that at company dinners she was asked to fill wine cups or soy sauce dishes, or to sing with executives if they were at karaoke clubs. The guidelines, being directed only at Government offices, will not free employees like her from such tasks.

One of the symbols of tradition in corporations, in fact, is the tea service. At many companies, tea or coffee is served twice a day, often to the desks of all the employees, with the women having to remember who takes sugar or milk. There is also extra tea service if there are guests or conferences. And there is all the dishwashing.

By next year, Government offices may have to bring in self-service tea time, if women no longer care to serve. Even though companies won't be required to follow suit, perhaps a similar practice will spread.

At least one practice will disappear in Government offices: diminutive name-calling. Senior male managers often use terms like "girl" or "lady" to soften a relationship with an employee; now that will be considered verbal sexual harassment.

More sinister coinages will also be banned. Managers sometimes refer to women by using a degrading term for "daughter." Or when they call an assistant to their side, they may not use her name, her title or Miss. Instead, they often simply call out, "Hey, she! Come here!"

Of course, it works both ways, and under the new guidelines, women will not be able to mock men, challenging their masculinity by saying things like, "You lack guts even though you are a man."

## Shilling Space

(Continued from Page 9)

taxpayers some \$70 billion so far.

Last week at Cape Canaveral, scores of Spanish journalists and television crews, as well as the Crown Prince of Spain and other dignitaries, joined in the frenzy to witness the launching not only of Senator Glenn but also of Spain's first astronaut, Pedro Duque, 35, an engineer from Madrid who, according to his NASA biography, enjoys swimming and cycling.

"It's neat to see everybody jump on the excitement bandwagon," said Joel Wells, a spokesman at the Kennedy Space Center, referring to the journalists, "and hopefully they'll stay."

Raising the adrenalin levels of Americans can be difficult these days because the public has become so blasé, especially since the astronauts do the same old thing — circle the Earth. Still, as the Glenn extravaganza suggests, the space agency has some innovations likely to jack up the thrills and chills — if not satisfy critics.

As Daniel S. Goldin, NASA's administrator, put it delicately in announcing the Senator's flight: The agency is working hard these days not only to benefit but "inspire people."

Of course, the razzmatazz can backfire. A dozen years ago, the agency wanted to inspire people by enlisting the first private citizen, Christa McAuliffe, a high school teacher. Among the 2,500 guests NASA invited to the launching of the Challenger space shuttle were 112 teacher finalists from the competition, two from each state and territory, who were to fan out afterward to spread the gospel.

After tragedy struck, killing all seven astronauts aboard the Challenger, Senator Glenn joined the experts saying the risks of space flight should bar civilians and celebrities until the shuttle had proven itself more reliable. "This is not a Greyhound bus going from Washington to Columbus," he told reporters. "This is a research vehicle."

Today, convinced that the shuttles are safer, NASA is revamping its star system. When the agency announced the Glenn flight in January, it also disclosed that Barbara Morgan, an elementary school teacher who trained as a backup for the Challenger flight, would get a new chance. Her astronaut class is to graduate in the

year 2000, after which she will be assigned to a flight and no doubt broadcast lessons to schoolchildren. Experts agree that the biggest show on the horizon is the International Space Station, an outpost bigger than a football field that teams of astronauts are to build, service and repair. The first supply flight for the station's construction is set for later this month.

### NASA and Company

The endeavor will be extremely dangerous for those sent into orbit, given the station's size, complexity and all the space walks. The outpost's size alone makes it a huge target for asteroids and space debris.

But given the thrill factor, and NASA's diplomatic salesmanship, the space station is already an international hit. Its 16 participants are Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Britain and the United States. Most of the countries expect their astronauts to join in a nearly endless series of broadcasts and dramas from space that could start as early as next year as the first modules are assembled in orbit.

Some critics fear that the \$50 billion project will cripple more worthy missions, including robotic ones. Others fault it as far too timid, arguing that manned missions should push for Mars and beyond, perhaps to the Jovian moon Europa, which shows signs of harboring the solar system's deepest ocean and perhaps alien life.

Dr. Bruce C. Murray, a scientist at the California Institute of Technology and president of the Planetary Society, a private group in Pasadena that backs space exploration, disagreed. He said the station, by uniting former enemies and galvanizing worldwide interest, is a potent political and technical first step toward the exploration and colonization of other worlds.

NASA's public-relations campaign, he added, should be no distraction from the serious scientific and technical aims of the shuttle and station programs, not from legitimate yearnings.

"The drama of humans going away is terribly appealing," Dr. Murray said. "That's why there's all this interest in Glenn. He's going out in space. You can't overestimate the significance of that."

## The Littlest Astronaut

They may be the first septuagenarian action figures ever. As John Glenn prepared to be catapulted into space aboard the Discovery shuttle last week, miniature John Glennys began landing on toy-store shelves.

Courtesy of Mattel Inc. and its Hot Wheels label, children can now play with three tiny versions of the spacegoing Senator. There is John Glenn in the red space suit he is wearing on the Discovery, John Glenn in the silver space suit he wore when he became the first American to orbit the Earth in 1962 and, for those youngsters who get excited by filibustering and fund-raising, John Glenn the Senator, dressed in a navy blue suit and red tie.

Each John Glenn is about 1 1/2 inches tall. There is also a two-inch model of the Friendship 7 space capsule circa 1962 and a three-inch model of the Discovery. The mini-Senator Glenn, however, does not

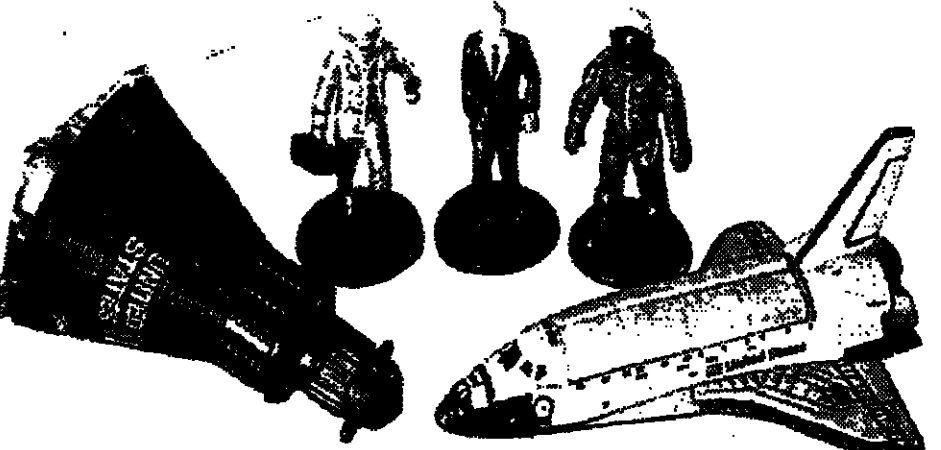
have his own transportation; maybe Mattel can make a tiny chauffeur-driven Lincoln Town Car to fill out the set.

The entire "Action Pack John Glenn, Great American Hero" collection retails for \$4.99. Sara Rosales, a spokeswoman for Mattel, said the company was inspired by the success of its Mars Pathfinder model last year.

Mr. Glenn — and NASA — gave permission for the action figures. "I think he was very supportive of it," Ms. Rosales said. "He's not getting any royalties out of it."

Ms. Rosales is hoping that even some members of the over-11 set may be enticed to buy the Glenn dolls. "Hot Wheels are basically for kids," she said, "but I think that because this is real, and it is a historical event, there will be a little bit of a crossover."

PAM BELLUCK



Naam Kazhdan/The New York Times

The three incarnations of John Glenn. With Mercury capsule, left, and space shuttle.



## Ideas & Trends

# Energy Addicted in America

By ALLEN R. MYERSON

HOUSTON — It was during the oil embargo era of the 1970's that Patricia Nelson Limerick, who is now a leading historian of the American West, announced to her students at Yale that Americans' outlook and behavior had gone through a momentous change. No more vistas of limitless resources. No more endlessly rising consumption. The Era of Scarcity had begun.

To save fuel and emphasize her belief, Ms. Limerick got around by bicycle, train and bus.

But 25 years later, Americans are consuming about as much energy as ever. By next year, the Energy Department predicts consumption per person will come to within 2 percent of the 1973 peak. Americans are living in bigger homes crammed with more appliances and driving larger, more powerful cars and more light trucks.

Ms. Limerick is still riding buses. But she admits she got the broader pattern wrong. "I was quite a sucker," she says.

### The Land Grab

Far from illustrating a transformation in American character, the nation's heavy and rising use of its most basic fuels illustrates consistencies. The distinctions between America and most other advanced nations endure. As the 19th-century American historian Frederick Jackson Turner famously said, the frontier set America apart from its European forebears. For Americans, there was always more land, food and fortune out there for the grabbing.

Though the Census Bureau declared the frontier closed more than a century ago, in many ways it remains open. Americans have gone back to using energy as if it were limitless — consuming far more per person than Asians or Europeans. Only Canadians, with more heavy industry and more childless, consume more. Low energy prices are regarded as a part of the Bill of Rights. Politicians who try to tax or otherwise raise the cost of fuel anywhere near the levels in Europe are summarily rebuffed.

The wide open frontier still lives in the naming and advertising of pickups and sports utility vehicles. Americans venture forth in their Blazers, Explorers and Durans.



The family truck: sports utility vehicles at a mall in Troy, Mich.

gos. In commercials these trucks rumble over endless stretches of Western highway. Revisionist historians like Ms. Limerick point out that Western settlement also included official repression of Indians and other minorities, the ravaging of the environment and a culture of violence. Revisionist Western states and cities that once wel-

### The frontier closed 100 years ago, but not for gas-guzzlers.

comed mining and development are now trying to clean up pollution from those mines and control urban sprawl.

America's pattern of settlement, more dispersed than in most other advanced nations, locks in the need for cheap, abundant energy. But underneath the roar of factory machinery, home construction and expressway traffic is the clang of a moral clash.

Half the nation's oil is imported. Scientists caution that emissions from rising energy use aggravate global warming. But ever since proto-environmentalists warned of timber depletion in the 1870's, Americans have

learned to doubt the need for conservation.

Within the country, energy use varies greatly. New Yorkers and Hawaiians are practically foreigners, merely sipping fuel while Alaskans and Texans guzzle it. The average Alaskan uses more than five times as much energy as the New Yorker, who uses the least; the Texan burns more than two and a half times as much.

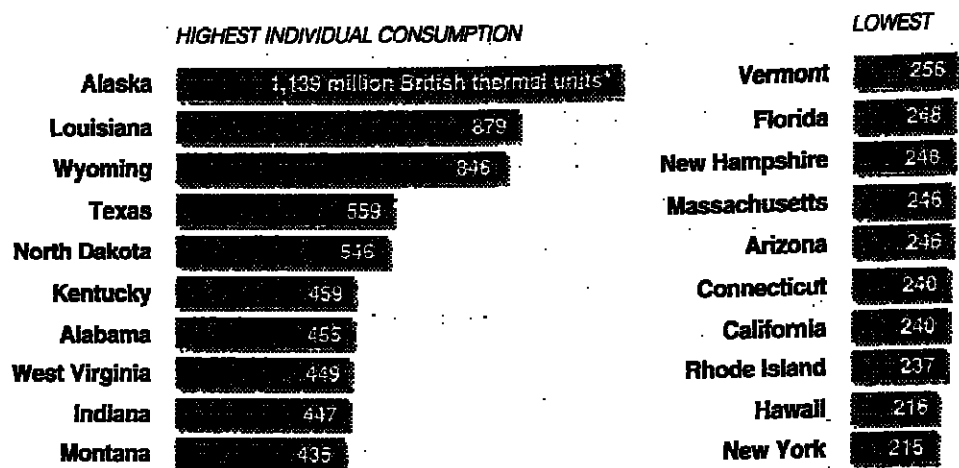
The presence of heavy industry accounts for the greatest differences. Louisiana and Texas, besides having plenty of oil wells, are home to the chemical and refining businesses. Alaska and Wyoming produce great quantities of oil, coal and natural gas, especially in proportion to their populations.

In New York, smokestacks and drilling rigs are few but subway and taxi riders many. New Yorkers are also more apt than other Americans to live jammed into apartments whose energy demands are far lower than for houses. And with common walls, says Arthur Rypinski, a Department of Energy economist, "You get to share your neighbor's heating and cooling." As for Hawaii, it counts more on tourism and pineapples than on petrochemical plants, and has far lower heating bills than Wyoming or Alaska.

During the 1970's embargo era, Texans, who considered their state an honorary member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, were never shy about letting Northerners know who had the most

### To Conserve Or Not

On average, New Yorkers consume less energy than people in any other state, partly because so many are crowded together in apartments, with many having no cars. Alaskans consume the most, followed by other states that have either low population densities or energy intensive industries like refining. Here are the 10 states that consumed the most energy per person in 1995 and the 10 states that consumed the least.



\*One B.T.U. is the amount of heat required to raise the temperature of a pound of water by one degree Fahrenheit. Eight gallons of gasoline contain about 1 million B.T.U.'s of energy.

### Around the World

Americans continue to use more energy than residents of any major country but Canada. Here is a comparison of the average amount of energy each person in each country used in 1973 and 1994, in millions of B.T.U.'s.



Source: Department of Energy; International Energy Agency

fuel. Bumper stickers on their Lincoln Continentals and long-bed pickups said, "Let the Yankees Freeze in the Dark." With oil prices so low, perhaps Texans should mount a gracious campaign assuring New Yorkers they are welcome to every drop Texas has.

### A Lowly Light Bulb

In Washington, the conflict between the energy-hungry life style and energy-saving impulses extends to the White House. At his conference on global warming last October, President Clinton confessed his doubts about how much the nation could alter its ways. Or even how much he could change his own.

"I'm plagued by the example of the light bulb I have in my living room of the White House that I read under at night," Mr. Clin-

ton said, "and I ask myself, 'Why isn't every light bulb in the White House like this?'" The lighting in question was a readily available, compact fluorescent bulb whose longer life and energy efficiency pay for its initial high cost several times over. "Why are we not all doing this?" he asked.

Faced with a battle many Americans agree is worth fighting but don't want to fight themselves, the Clinton Administration has proposed hiring hungry foreign mercenaries. Through trading in emissions rights, the White House plans to pay developing countries to achieve about three-fourths of America's reductions required under last year's Kyoto accord. Europe and Japan have howled that this plan violates that accord, at least in spirit. They must be cranky from having to drive such tiny cars.

## Dark Politics As the Sun Shines

Continued from Page 9

most folks," said Gary Jacobson, a professor of political science at the University of California at San Diego, comparing today to the heyday of the Reagan era. "It seems to me that's a message that would sell."

Still, many candidates cling to what they learned years ago in Politics 101: The way to get through to voters is to scare them. The problem is that while many people have concerns about this or that issue, they aren't scared. It is true, for instance, that education registers in polls as a big issue this year, but that is not because people are unusually up in arms about schools. It is, arguably, because voters cite education when they have nothing much else to complain about.

### Not Riled Up

People surely want more out of their health care plans, but that does not mean they think there is a health care crisis. They may want more affordable child care but they do not necessarily think there is a child care crisis. They may be troubled by teenagers joining gangs, but at a time of rapidly plunging crime rates they do not feel under siege.

In countless interviews around the country, ordinary voters who in previous election years bent visitors' ears with complaints about a pet issue mustered only a collective shrug when asked what most riled them this year. When the question was put to Gene Provost, a 66-year-old electronics technician in Moreno Valley, Calif., an independent, he replied, "Do you have any issues in particular?"

Worried, perhaps, that nuanced or tempered messages may not reach voters like Mr. Provost, candidates' messages verge on the apocalyptic.

In California, for example, the campaign of Gray Davis, the Democratic candidate for Governor, is warning that the Republican, Dan Lungren, would ban abortion, something no Governor has authority to do. "We don't need someone as Governor who would take us back to the days of back-alley abortion," radio listeners are told.

For its part, the Lungren campaign conjures up criminals running rampant in the streets with California under a Gray Administration. Mr. Davis's support of the death penalty notwithstanding, one commercial suggests that he would get rid of it: "Davis Lobbied Against the Death Penalty."

E. J. Dionne Jr., the author of "Why Americans Hate Politics" (Simon & Schuster, 1991), summed up the way candidates are turning off voters.

"Politicians seem to spend so much time talking about the terrible things other people have done and the failure of various efforts to solve problems that they encourage a popular sense that government can't solve problems," he said. "It encourages a lot of people to think that politics is irrelevant."

It is true that challengers in particular would have a hard time convincing voters to oust incumbents by announcing that everything is rosy. But some of the most successful politicians this year have built huge leads with messages of hope. Gov. George E. Pataki of New York, a Republican, is so far ahead in the polls that he can afford a gauzy commercial with the message, "Vote for the Pataki team because the best New York is yet to come."

In Maryland, Senator Barbara A. Mikulski, a Democrat, has such feeble opposition that this weekend her campaign put back on the air an uplifting commercial showing her wearing a kid-sized Baltimore Orioles baseball cap. "Unlike a lot of politicians, she doesn't have a big head," the narrator says. "She just does big things for the state she loves."

### Nasty Competition

While such an optimistic pitch may carry broad appeal, it may be less effective than a message of crisis in more competitive races, where candidates are struggling to pull specific narrow constituencies to the polls.

"Their target is the people who make up their minds at the last minute and never think about politics unless they have to," Professor Jacobson said. "Maybe they still believe they have to get their attention with a two-by-four. What we see is a tactic that strikes us as excessive."

Of course, one problem unique to this campaign season is the distraction of the White House sex scandal, which has made it harder for candidates to get noticed and offered another opportunity to portray a nation in crisis, in this case a moral one.

Still, Michael Deaver, an architect of the "morning in America" campaign for Mr. Reagan, said he thought Democrats could do more to turn prosperity to their advantage. Noting that Democrats "are so defensive because of the scandal," he suggested that more uplifting messages could prove winners at a time when their leader is popular and controls the White House.

"Any party out of power should be talking about how bad it has been," he said. "But I don't know why the Democrats aren't saying we're better off than we've ever been."

## You're Like, Duh, So Two Weeks Ago Where Father Doesn't Know Best

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

SEVERAL years ago, George Kirgo, a respected 73-year-old television writer who had worked on such shows as "Mary Tyler Moore" and "Wagon Train," proposed a movie-of-the-week idea to his agent, who took it to a network executive.

"Kirgo's too old," the executive said immediately, according to Mr. Kirgo.

The agent inquired, "Does that mean in a couple of years you won't let me come and see you even though I got you your job?"

The executive replied: "That's true. Sorry." There's no place quite like Hollywood for its obsession with youth — but anguish about getting older is hardly limited to well-known actors and actresses surgically carving up their faces to look younger. Writers over 50, especially on television, are virtually shut out of many top shows because they are considered too old and too out of touch by network executives and producers who are in their 20's and 30's.

A report last week by the Writer's Guild of America, the union that represents writers, found that while women and members of minority groups have made some gains in Hollywood over the last decade, the job prospects for older

writers have seriously declined. In fact, past the age of 30, the report said, the rate of employment for writers decreases. Last season 77 series had no writers over 50, the study said; prime-time shows like "Friends," "Men Behaving Badly" and "Veronica's Closet" had no writers over 40. (Shows without any female writers included "Politically Incorrect," which has 22 writers.)

"I know writers who have taken 'M.A.S.H.' off their résumés because it makes them too old," said Larry Gelbart, the 70-year-old creator of the series. "There was 'Red Channels' in the 50's," he said, referring to the booklet that named alleged Communists in the entertainment industry. "Now there's gray channels."

### Fronting for Dad

There are other comparisons with the 1950's. Blacklisted writers sometimes used fronts, or names of friends, to write scripts. Nowadays, older writers sometimes bring in their sons or daughters, and pretend they're partners, to pitch meetings with network executives. Sometimes an older writer who has an idea for a show asks a young writer to join him and make the pitch so the network executive will feel more comfortable.

"They feel more at ease with the guys and gals they went to school with," said Mr. Kirgo. "They also feel that the older you get you're less in tune

### In Hollywood, a new kind of blacklist targets older writers.

with your wit and sexuality. You can't write love scenes. It's beyond your ken. It's one of the few businesses where the more experience you have, the less useful you are."

The fact that the prospects for older writers are poor was underlined by the recent saga of Riley Weston, a 32-year-old who posed as 19 to get a job as a writer and actress on "Felicity," a show aimed at teen-agers. Ms. Weston was hired because of her "unique perspective" as a teenager. In fact, if she had been truthful, she probably wouldn't have been hired.

Film studio executives and producers are, by most accounts, biased toward young writers, but the bias in the movie business seems less harsh than in the television arena. After all, not every film is made for teen-agers. Many of the best-known screenwriters are in their 40's, 50's and even 60's. They write scripts on their own and sell them to studios. Television writers, in contrast, work in groups on specific shows — and there aren't many shows for older people.

The decline of network television audiences and revenue has led programmers and advertisers to focus on viewers between 18 and 49. And since so many hit shows are geared to the young, network executives are insisting that only the young can write for the young.

### Understanding Lamb Chop

"I wrote for 'Sanford and Son,' and I wasn't black, I wrote for Shari Lewis, and I wasn't a puppet," said 66-year-old Saul Turteltaub. "You don't have to be the age, sex, race of the thing you're writing about. You have to be a talented writer."

The Writer's Guild report, by William T. and Denise B. Bielby, professors of sociology at the University of California at Santa Barbara, found that about 70 percent of writers under 30 worked in 1997, compared to less than 33 percent of writers over 50. In only a handful of series were at least a third of the writers over the age of 50. Surprisingly, some of those series were youth-oriented, including "Baywatch Nights," "Walker, Texas Ranger" and "The Magnificent Seven."

But these are exceptions. "I began in the 50's — when older, more experienced writers got the jobs and younger people had trouble finding work," said Irma Kalish, a television writer and executive producer on such shows as "The Facts of Life." She added, "The pendulum has swung entirely the other way."

Another writer, Hindi Brooks, who wrote for such shows as "Fame" and "Eight Is Enough," put it another way. Ms. Brooks ("I'm above 50") had grown somewhat successful and had moved from a small talent agency that represented her to the big William Morris Agency. But after a while, she couldn't find work. "The agent said he couldn't sell me, and I asked him why," she recalled. "He said, 'Your hair is turning gray.'"



Riley Weston got a job as a writer for "Felicity" by claiming she was 19 years old. She is 32.

سكرا من الاصل



## ECONOMY

## Global Crisis for Coca-Cola, Or a Pause that Refreshes?

By CONSTANCE L. HAYS

ATLANTA  
THE World of Coca-Cola, which on the cultural scale falls somewhere between legitimate museum and Disney-style extravaganza, is one of M. Douglas Ivester's hangouts. Once a month or so, he likes to pop in, gaze at the exhibits of Coke ephemera and eavesdrop on the tourists crowded around.

The other day he spied a jukebox, punched up a bouncy 1930's tune, the "Coca-Cola March," and lingered for a moment to listen. "Doesn't it just make you want to get a flag and march," he asked, "and then go attack the world?"

For the Coca-Cola Company, attacking the world — with or without musical accompaniment — has become a lot harder lately. Just one year into his tenure as chairman and chief executive, Mr. Ivester finds himself leading Coke through extraordinarily bleak times.

Sales have shriveled in miserable synchrony with the collapse of the Russian ruble, the continued economic morass in Japan, worries about an impending monetary crisis in Brazil and an assortment of other ills — even bad weather in Germany. Gloom would have every reason to prevail in the corporate world of Coca-Cola, a company that gathers 75 percent of its profits outside the United States and is the archetype of the American multinational corporations that rode the 90's promise of an ever-expanding global economy directly into investors' hearts.

But if others confronting today's economic woes seem befuddled — think of the International Monetary Fund, this or that central banker, the hobbled gurus of the hedge fund business — Mr. Ivester and his fellow Coke executives exhibit an almost surreal confidence.

It is perhaps a byproduct of so many years spent selling a high-fructose, caramel-colored beverage that, by most measures, people can live without.

Ask Mr. Ivester about the inhospitable global atmosphere, and you might wonder why you even brought it up. Crisis? What crisis? By his definition, it's business as usual.

"This is a changed environment for people of a certain age," he said, referring to the generation of business people who have only known the 1990's expansion. "But for the Coca-Cola Company it's nothing new. We've worked in these environments for years. We go to a country to stay. We don't go to a country for the good times."

After all, said Mr. Ivester, who is 51 and joined Coke 19 years ago, Coke is adept at wringing profits out of its most remote operations — patches of jungle or desert, lonely islands and other spots he calls "up-country."

With a touch of scorn, he added: "Eighty-five percent of the places we do business in are tough, and they've always been tough. A lot of companies rushed in and got some of the cream that was rising to the top."

It's brave talk. But can Coca-Cola weather so many simultaneous flare-ups when it is so dependent on overseas earnings? Is its bet on global growth so big as to be too risky? Does the situation spell extended weakness for company earnings?

Coke itself is making no predictions beyond the fourth quarter of this year, when it has said earnings will be down versus the comparable period in 1997. And this comes on the heels of a third quarter in which earnings were down 12.2 percent.

Investors are offering a tentative vote of confidence. With the encouragement of analysts who were impressed by Mr. Ivester's calm demeanor in delivering his earnings warning at a meeting in late September, they have bid the stock up from a low of \$53.6875. It closed on Friday at \$67.5625, still 24 percent off its mid-July high of \$88.9375.

BUT the market is not always a shrewd judge when it is infatuated with a stock; sometimes, a rally can lead into a bear trap. Given Mr. Ivester's talking down of expectations for the rest of the year, investors are paying a price-to-earnings multiple of 46 for the company.

The risks for companies like Coke are "becoming clearer," said Leah Modigliani, an equity strategist for Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, "but they were really there before as well." Coca-Cola and other global consumer marketers like Procter & Gamble and Gillette may be great companies, she said, but sometimes, "great companies shouldn't really be confused with great stocks."

In Coke's favor are its management, deep with people who have broad international business experience, and its deep pockets, which allow it to invest heavily at any time. Working against it are the global uncertainty that continues to preoccupy investors and the question of whether the company will need to spend abnormal amounts to generate the growth that impresses.

"It's been a long time since they've had to manage through this much turmoil on such a broad-based scale," said Doug Lane, a beverage analyst for Merrill Lynch.

Mr. Ivester has the added burden



These are tough times for multinational companies, but Coca-Cola's chief, M. Douglas Ivester, says the company should stick to its philosophy that markets can always be widened.

of replacing a legend: the genteel, Cuban-born Roberto C. Goizueta, who died of complications from lung cancer in October 1997.

Mr. Goizueta was revered by almost everyone who holds even a splinter of Coke stock for his relentless focus on shareholder value. During his 16-year tenure as chief executive, the company's book value mushroomed from \$4.3 billion to \$147 billion, attracting such august investors as Warren E. Buffett and anointing new millionaires all over Atlanta and the red-clay country beyond.

Still, the leadership transition was all but seamless, largely because Mr. Ivester, as company president and Goizueta confidant, had been integrally involved in top-level decisions for a long time. Among other things, he was the architect of the spinoff and consolidation of Coca-Cola's bottlers that did wonders for the parent company's balance sheet, moving off debt and stoking profits.

A man whose posture and stride bring to mind those polar bears featured in so many Coke commercials, Mr. Ivester seems to have blossomed in his new role, exuding charm where he was once the numbers man hovering

in the background.  
But he now stands alone at the top — he has purposely avoided naming a No. 2 — and Coke's numbers are certainly off. Sales volume worldwide rose by only 3 percent in the three months ending Sept. 30, compared with 11 percent in the period a year earlier. And he acknowledged being surprised at the speed with which the global situation unraveled.

"I don't think you anticipate these sorts of things," he said.

Historically, analysts say, Coke has used its considerable capital to ride out financial traumas — the devaluing of the Mexican peso in 1994, for example — while smaller competitors retreated or even failed.

But now, with so many problems on so many fronts, the company has kicked into higher gear. There are meetings each week about Germany, Coke's third-biggest market, where concerns include currency value and bottling efficiency as well as the weather, and every six weeks about Japan, second only to the United States in generating profits.

In Indonesia, where sales have fallen by 21 percent as the economy has tumbled into depression, Coke is heavily marketing its returnable glass 6-ounce bottle — a low-cost size — in hopes of spurring a rebound. A car sweepstakes in Germany and coupons on 2-liter bottles in Russia are other strategies in a global effort to improve volume.

With so many consumers chastened, though, Coke faces an uphill fight. In Brazil, cheaper second-tier brands known as "Tubainas" are cutting into Coke's market share. "Coke is much better, but too expensive," said Terezinha Barros Neves, a housekeeper from Rio de Janeiro.

One analyst, Laura Metzler of Salomon Smith Barney, points to "actual declines in core Coca-Cola product" in Brazil, adding: "You will see an even bigger decline in the

fourth quarter."

In Venezuela, Coke's anchor bottler, Panamco, has lost market share over the last year to PepsiCo, which recently started an aggressive discounting program, Ms. Metzler said.

Coke is reeling in costs wherever it can, from postponing training programs to reducing work by outside contractors. Its bottlers in Japan are being pushed into collaboration: Instead of producing every Coca-Cola product, each will specialize in a few products and sell them across a wider region. Analysts say the plan has met with considerable resistance.

"When times are good, you don't think about these things," said Douglas N. Daft, Coke's group president for Asia and the Middle East. "Boy, have I practiced everything I've ever learned."

Day to day, Mr. Ivester counsels Coke executives around the globe, whom he and others describe as depressed. Don't cancel the Christmas party, he told one manager; it would send the wrong message. Don't take problems like the Russian economic situation personally; instead, he advises his deputies, look for opportunity in the rubble.

"Almost immediately, I started saying, 'Let's capitalize on this,'" Mr. Ivester said.

His fundamental tactic is to encourage his troops to share a mindset that posits the company working its way through the current mess and, ultimately, coming out ahead. It is a philosophy that seems rooted in his childhood on the fringes of Gainesville, Ga.

He was an only child, and his parents, both factory workers, gave him "as much opportunity as they could," he said. They also gave him their undivided attention, he added, pressuring him to succeed in school.

"My father's point of view was, if they gave A-pluses and you didn't have all A-pluses, you weren't all the way there," said Mr. Ivester, who remains close to his parents — and motivated to win.

"Mindset to me is setting a destination," Mr. Ivester said. "It's not a matter of if we're going to get there. It's a matter of when. I've been that way my entire life."

HE works seven days a week, often long into the night. His travel schedule is exhausting, too. He has visited 19 countries since the beginning of the year, making seven stops during one 11-day trip.

Even outings to the supermarket are research missions: Mr. Ivester will often stand at the end of the checkout lane to see what beverages people are buying. Overseas, he has been known to peer into trash baskets to see how people are spending their snack money.

"He is not in the ivory tower," says Andrew M. Conway, a beverage analyst for Morgan Stanley. "He is out in the field." (Sometimes, in fact, he can be seen driving himself to the field in his bright red Porsche.)

All of Mr. Ivester's deputies have learned, sometimes the hard way, that voice mail is the boss's favorite form of communication.

"If there's any relevant data on something, I leave him a message on it," said Mr. Daft. "Four times a day, minimum, when I'm in Atlanta and five or six times a day when I'm traveling."

not big enough for him. He likes to point out that people around the world are consuming 47 billion other drinks that aren't Coke — every day. It's that mindset business again.

Charles S. Frenette, who became Coke's director of marketing in May, said: "There is a fundamental belief in this company that we have unlimited potential as far as anyone can see or imagine. It's simply our job to figure out how to remove the barriers to that growth."

Jack L. Stahl, the Coke group president who oversees business in the United States and Canada, added, "I've never heard Doug say 'I'm satisfied.'"

Recently, Mr. Stahl got a bottler to increase his sales growth projections to 12 percent a year, from 3 percent. He said when he proudly reported that to Mr. Ivester, the response was, "Twelve percent? That's really just a mindset, isn't it?" It was clear that 24 percent would have been better.

Competitors have a special place in the Coke mindset. Inside Coke headquarters, no one refers by name to Pepsi-Cola; instead, it's "P-cola" or "P-company." And when asked about the competition, Coke executives routinely refer to the power of their own brands, not the threat from someone else's.

But there is much evidence that they do care. In June, at a meeting Coke held for money managers and analysts at an Atlanta hotel, one attendee was amused by the spectacle of the room-service staff scrambling to remove bags of Frito-Lay snacks — made by PepsiCo, Pepsi's parent — from the mini-bars.

Coke, like any other major soft-drink company, would rather have its own products in every nook and cranny — to the exclusion of others, when possible.

The practice of obtaining exclusive distribution rights is at the center of

a Federal lawsuit PepsiCo filed earlier this year against Coca-Cola, contending that Coke used its considerable leverage to force food-service distributors to drop Pepsi fountain products. Coke officials say the lawsuit is groundless.

"Doug's mission is to place that stuff in every conceivable market and to convince people that they should drink it," said Tom Pirko, a Manhattan-based consultant who works with Coke and other soft-drink companies. "There's a belief system there that they are doing the right thing."

A GLOBAL depression could certainly challenge the mindset. And the economics of Coca-Cola's business could be rolled by a proposed rule change by the Financial Accounting Standards Board that, if enacted, might force the company to reabsorb billions of dollars in debt that is now on the books of major bottlers around the world.

But Coca-Cola's board has confidence in the people in charge.

"Coke and other businesses are being affected by the rolling movement of the Asian flu," said Donald F. McHenry, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and a Coke director since 1981. "All companies are going to have to react and adapt their plans, and Coke is no different."

Coke, he added, is "in very good hands."

Indeed, a close encounter with Coke's inner circle leaves the impression that the chief executive thinks the outside world simply needs to follow his example.

"I drink water occasionally," Mr. Ivester said when asked what else was on his personal beverage list. Then he said softly, almost under his breath, "Why would you drink anything other than a Coke product?"

## An Investor Who Shares The Zeal

THE global picture may be unsettling, but Warren E. Buffett, whose Berkshire Hathaway Inc. controls about 200 million shares of Coca-Cola, says Coke's business will keep rolling along.

"In given countries at given times there will be hiccups," Mr. Buffett, a Coca-Cola director since 1988, said in a telephone interview on Thursday from his office in Omaha. "But that doesn't take your eye off where you want to be 10 or 15 years from now, which is to have everybody drinking nothing but Coke."

A big part of Mr. Buffett's investing strategy is to find corporate executives in whom he has deep faith and then stick by them for the long haul.

"The top guy does set the tone for the way the people down the chain behave," Mr. Buffett said. "If the top guy is thinking about his golf game, the other guys start thinking about their golf game."

That isn't a problem at Coke. Mr. Buffett was a big believer in Roberto C. Goizueta, the company's late chief executive, and he says he believes in Mr. Goizueta's successor, M. Douglas Ivester.

"I've seen him in action a long time, and he's got a burning passion about the company," Mr. Buffett said. "It's a mission with him. He can't control exchange rates, and he can't control the domestic economy of a country. But if you keep pouring it on, people are always going to get thirsty, and there are always going to be more people who want to buy your product."

Coke's pricing, near ubiquitous availability and generally positive image all work in the company's favor, too, Mr. Buffett said.

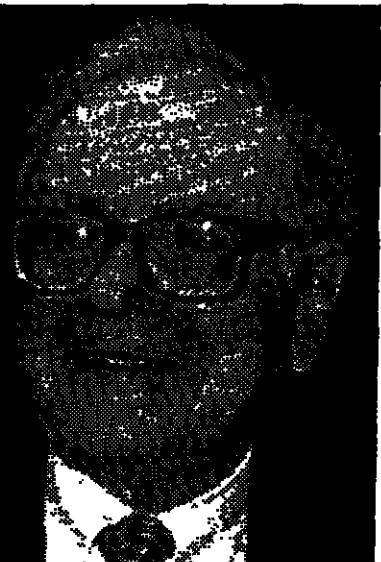
Indeed, Mr. Buffett and Mr. Ivester have teamed up to do their part on the ubiquity front.

Not long ago, Mr. Buffett went out with his grandson for pizza at an Omaha restaurant and discovered that the place served Pepsi, not Coke.

"I mentioned it to Atlanta, and World War III broke out," Mr. Buffett said. "They're now serving Coke."

He added, "I don't think Doug sleeps at night if that one pizza parlor in Omaha isn't selling Coke."

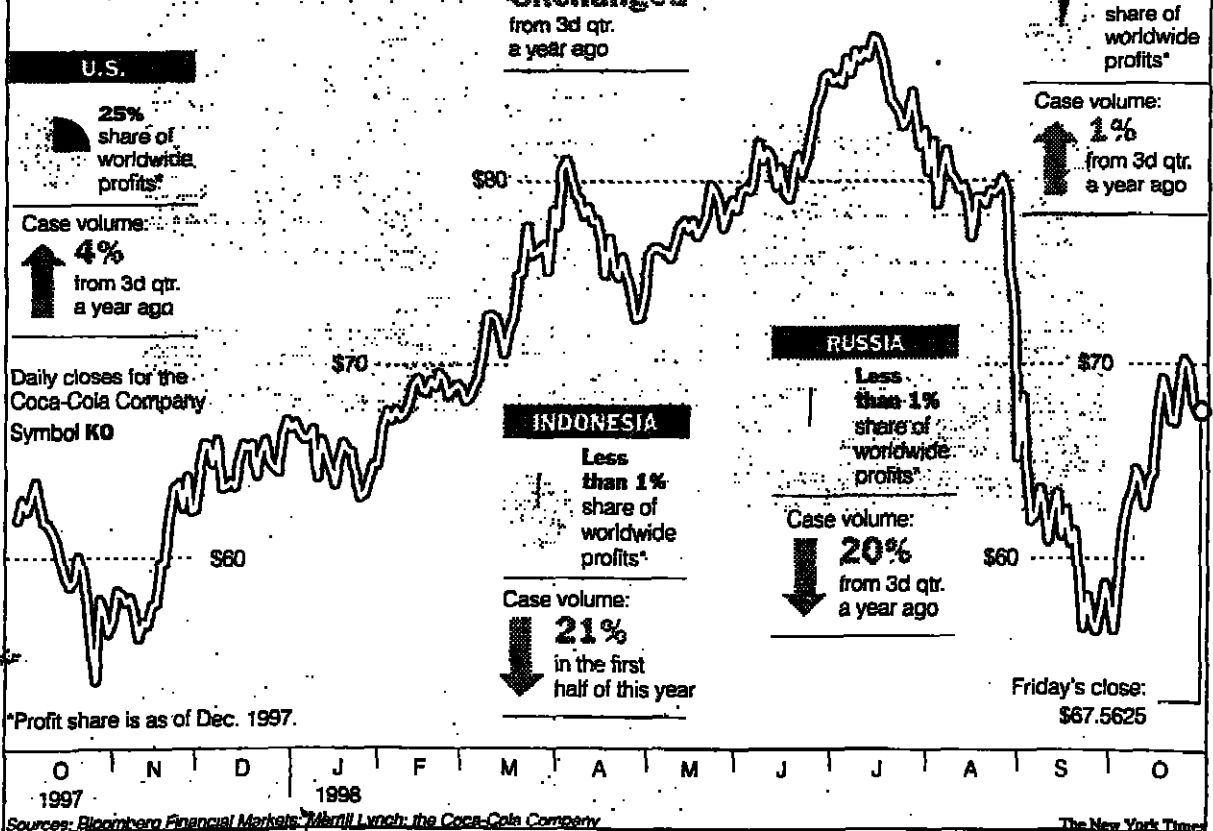
CONSTANCE L. HAYS



Warren E. Buffett

## What the World Needs Today?

Coca-Cola derives three-quarters of its profits from outside the United States. With today's global economic woes — from Japan's malaise to the collapse of the Russian ruble — Coke's sales growth is slowing worldwide, and the company faces an uphill battle in squeezing more profits from its operations.





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## The Impeachment Breather

Until a few days ago, the possible impeachment of President Clinton was the campaign issue of which few dared speak. Republicans have been afraid to be seen exploiting the subject. Democratic candidates did not want to be seen defending the President or even standing near him, except in a few party strongholds. Both parties seemed to believe that voters wanted a respite from the scandal. Now, however, Republicans have injected the issue into several races, and Democrats have responded with ads calling for Congress to move on. There is some logic to putting Mr. Clinton back on the agenda. The 106th Congress, after all, will have no more urgent priority than deciding his fate.

The Republicans designed the ads to energize their core vote in selected districts without stirring a backlash among the Democrats and independents they want to stay home. If the strategy helps produce a Republican gain greater than 20 seats, the hunkered-down Republican leadership will take that as a signal to push hard on impeachment. Democrats say that if they can hold the losses to 10 or so seats, Republicans will want House Speaker Newt Gingrich to resolve impeachment proceedings quickly, with a censure, before the State of the Union Message in January. The Washington Post reported that Mr. Gingrich personally approved the last-minute commercials about the President's affair with Monica Lewinsky, and the Speaker is under enormous pressure to prove to Congressional Republicans that he has not overplayed their cards.

Although Democrats are tormented by turnout worries and intramural squabbles about how to finance their Congressional candidates, the party and Mr. Clinton's standing are not the shambles they might have been. Two and a half months ago, just after the President's grand jury appearance and his sullen television performance that evening, many Democratic lawmakers were hoping privately that he would resign to spare them what they feared would be a historic debacle at the polls in the fall. Now Mr. Clinton's approval ratings are as high as ever, and he scored political victories on the budget, the Middle East peace agreement and an

apparent withdrawal of Serbian forces in Kosovo.

Few speak any longer of a President unable to get things done at home or abroad. But the Democrats in Washington also know that there is little enthusiasm for this President, even among his supporters. Everyone remembers that in the 1974 election just after Watergate, the huge Democratic gains occurred less because of a swing among voters than a massive trend of Republican voters staying home. Moreover, the polls according Mr. Clinton high ratings for his job performance also show strong disapproval of his personal character. Except for New York and California, Mr. Clinton has been careful this campaign not to barnstorm the country for himself or the Democrats (though there have been plenty of fund-raisers). Ever the campaigner, Mr. Clinton is said to be chafing at his advisers' restrictions, but they believe the happy-warrior conduct would not be seen as consistent with his "journey of atonement."

The absence of a full debate about impeachment is not the only example of a detached and unsatisfying campaign, divorced from the issues. The candidates exchanged platitudes about abortion, gun control, adding teachers and enacting a patients' bill of rights. The next Congress will have to deal with nothing less than shoring up the global economy and devising a plan to save Social Security in the next generation, and to get to these issues, impeachment will have to be dealt with. The Republicans' own mixed feelings about engaging the issue on the campaign trail should tell them that the public wants the issue resolved. Similarly, Mr. Clinton's own bunkered existence should tell him that he should not try to tough it out, even if the Democrats perform respectably in the election. A move by Mr. Clinton to admit lying under oath, combined with a censure by Congress, is still the best way out of the Presidential crisis. Through the poll numbers, that seems to be what the voters are saying as well. As for Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gingrich, they will be looking at another set of numbers — their parties' gains or losses in Congress — to decide whether to go to war or sue for peace.

## South Africa's Stinging Truths

The 3,500-page report of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, released on Thursday, is the most comprehensive and unflinching examination of a nation's ugly past that any such commission has yet produced. Drawing from the commission's own investigations and the testimony of hundreds of applicants for amnesty and 20,000 victims, the report is a detailed look at the crimes of the apartheid era, and blames successive white governments for the vast majority. It has fulfilled its mandate of telling the fullest truth possible, which is one reason that every political party in South Africa has denounced it.

Besides accusing the Government of assassinations and bombings, the report criticizes the Inkatha Freedom Party for its massacres and collaboration with security forces, and blames the African National Congress for the murder of civilians and other crimes. It singles out former President P. W. Botha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, and Winnie Mandela, among others, for detailed treatment of their roles in political crimes.

One major flaw in the report is the absence of a section accusing F. W. de Klerk, the last apartheid President, of knowing about several bombings after the fact and keeping silent. It was excised because Mr. de Klerk is suing the commission. The A.N.C. also sued, unsuccessfully, to stop publication. The lawsuits are a disappointing sign that South Africa's

political parties are not interested in an honest look at their past, nor in the free flow of information.

The controversy has added to widespread complaints that the commission has not helped the process of reconciliation. This is wrong. True reconciliation — which occurs when a society is no longer paralyzed by the past and people can work and live together — cannot be based on silence. No society can be restored to health by papering over as much pain as South Africans have suffered. A noisy and informed debate about complicity in the crimes of the apartheid era is necessary, if uncomfortable.

The report is only part of the Truth Commission's contribution to the healing process. The hearings themselves, which allowed victims of human rights violations to tell their stories in public, helped the country heal and opened the eyes of many whites to the unpleasant truth about apartheid. The amnesty process, while permitting many important criminals to escape justice, is allowing families to know exactly what happened to their loved ones in dozens of cases that would likely have never gone to trial in South Africa's fragile judicial system. The process of helping the victims with scholarships and other necessary aid goes on, although it will not be enough. No commission can transform a society as twisted as South Africa's was. But the Truth Commission is the best effort the world has seen, and South Africa is the better for it.

## Pinochet: New Round of Questions

To the Editor:

The English High Court declares that Gen. Augusto Pinochet, the former Chilean dictator, is "entitled to immunity, as a former sovereign, from criminal and civil process in the English courts" (front page, Oct. 29). You report that General Pinochet has been "treated as a V.I.P. by the Foreign Office," and had drinks at the home of the former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, who protested his subsequent arrest. Yet less than a decade ago the British Government under Mrs. Thatcher strongly supported the invasion of Panama and the arrest of its sitting President, Manuel Antonio Noriega. Mrs. Thatcher's Foreign Office had no problem with Mr. Noriega being forcibly dragged out of his own country to face criminal charges in the United States for alleged violations of American drug laws, stating that "we are naturally pleased that he should be brought to justice."

MATTHEW CHACHERE  
Brooklyn, Oct. 30, 1998

dealing with current crimes rather than old ones. LARRY BERLIN  
Chicago, Oct. 29, 1998

To the Editor:

Britain, by denying the validity of Gen. Augusto Pinochet's arrest, has also denied the world a chance to do right, to serve justice and the most basic human rights (editorial, Oct. 29). The English court said that English law grants immunity in England to heads of state who committed crimes "in the course of exercising public functions." Obviously, the term "public functions" does not include torture or bloody killings. If so, all heads of state may as well engage with impunity in such "public functions."

Britain must not be cowed by fear of diplomatic tensions. Britain has an immense moral responsibility. It cannot afford to wash its hands of General Pinochet. He has washed his hands of far too many innocent lives. CHRISTIAN BARRIOS  
Kobe, Japan, Oct. 29, 1998

To the Editor:

The decision by England's High Court that Gen. Augusto Pinochet is entitled to immunity from prosecution for criminal acts committed while he was Chile's head of state defies logic and renders international laws against genocide unenforceable (front page, Oct. 29). Jurisdiction is granted to all countries that sign the Geneva Conventions to try alleged violators of the treaty.

By basing its decision on diplomatic immunity, the British court sets a precedent for allowing any despotic ruler to escape the jurisdiction of international law. BRIAN MULLINS  
Brookfield, Wis., Oct. 29, 1998  
The writer is a lawyer.

To the Editor:

While I would never condone the actions of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, who stands accused in the killing of at least 2,000 people during his regime, I disagree with your Oct. 29 editorial in favor of his extradition.

While in theory it may be desirable to extradite every former world leader for crimes committed during his administration, in practice this could lead us to a slippery slope. What is to stop a less admirable society from imprisoning and arresting another country's former leaders for purely political or vindictive reasons?

General Pinochet should be allowed to go home, and we should move on to

To the Editor:

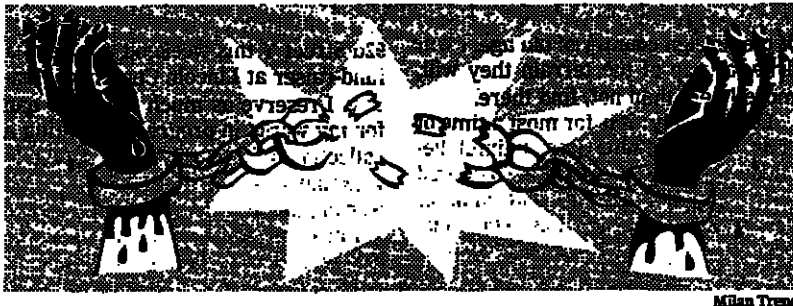
How can Gen. Augusto Pinochet have immunity for acts carried out in his official capacity as head of state if the means by which he came to lead Chile was an illegal coup against President Salvador Allende's democratically elected Government (editorial, Oct. 29)? This is ludicrous. JONATHAN AURTHUR  
Santa Monica, Calif., Oct. 29, 1998

To the Editor:

The "defense argument of the day" has to be the one cited in your Oct. 29 front-page article on Gen. Augusto Pinochet: that the former President of Chile was immune because he was head of state at the time the crimes charged were committed.

By using this argument to ignore international conventions on human rights atrocities, Britain is exempting all murderous government officials from prosecution if they can just get out of the countries that have grounds to prosecute.

If Pol Pot had found a nice cottage in the British countryside, he could have been safe from prosecution for the slaughter of more than a million people. Idi Amin and Suharto could have used this sanctuary. They were, after all, only "exercising public functions," as the British court said, and would therefore be immune from extradition. JOHN JONIK  
Philadelphia, Oct. 29, 1998



## Gen X'ers Need a Hero Like John Glenn

To the Editor:

John Glenn's flight into space (front page, Oct. 30) raises a question that should nag at the minds of Americans, especially those in the generations between John Glenn and his grandchildren. That is: Where are today's heroes? I am hard pressed to identify any public figures whom I admire, respect, esteem or hold as a hero.

Instead, members of Generation X like me (I am 25) have adopted the heroes of our parents' generation, like the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., John F. Kennedy and John Glenn. Newt Gingrich, Bill Clinton, Trent Lott and the rest would be well advised to take notice if they wish our generation to treat them in their old age with the same reverence with which they are treating John Glenn. JEFF GOLDMAN  
San Francisco, Oct. 30, 1998

To the Editor:

I hadn't yet been born when John Glenn was launched into space the first time, but how marvelous a thought that we have come so far that this flight (front page, Oct. 30) has on

it people of different races and countries and sex and age all going up into space together, the picture of a unified future, in which all people are equal and, yes, the elderly are respected. KAREN DINITZ  
Austin, Tex., Oct. 30, 1998

To the Editor:

John Glenn's return to space is indeed a unique achievement for someone of advanced years (front page, Oct. 30). But the flight is also an example of one of the most remarkable achievements of recent generations: the extension of our useful life span, thanks to advances in public health and modern medicine.

October 29, the day of Senator Glenn's flight, should be observed as Seniors' Day, a day on which we review our life styles and health habits and their benefits in terms of longer, healthier, more rewarding lives. It should also be a day on which we take special notice of those, like Mr. Glenn, who exemplify the benefits to society of being active elders. LAWRENCE CRANBERG  
Austin, Tex., Oct. 30, 1998

## THE JERUSALEM POST

### Why Must Peace Be So Hard to Find?

To the Editor:

Re "Israeli Jeep Blocks a Bomber from School Bus Carrying 40" (front page, Oct. 30): In Kfar Darom and in all of Israel this morning, parents are trying to find some way to breathe again, some way to reassure their frantically beating hearts that this time the children were not hurt. Because of the bravery of the soldiers who were able to prevent the terrorist from hurling his car at a school bus, the children were saved. It was a soldier who died this time, though clearly he was not the target. That was 35 children, who are now in school dealing with something that most of us have never experienced, much less something we can imagine. It is too early to think about the scars these children will carry, but we wonder.

What kind of person targets a bus load of children? In our 50 years of statehood, Israelis have asked this question, but it has never been answered. If we dare to wonder why, this time we will be forced to the inevitable conclusion that it is not why; it is Wye. PAULA R. STERN  
Sha'arei Tikvah, Israel, Oct. 30, 1998

### Religion's Failure

To the Editor:

Re the Oct. 29 letters in response to James Kullander's Oct. 26 Op-Ed article, "God, on Our Terms":

All imply that organized religion (especially Christianity) has the inside track on "God's terms." According to such a viewpoint, over the last two thousand years, humanity's demands have been developed into objective truths, doctrines and moral systems. Thus, Mr. Kullander's ideas regarding reintegrating Christianity are thought to be only disguised self-centeredness or representations of the whims and desires of the world.

If organized religion is so enlightened, why are religious wars so prevalent? A fresh outlook may help us to avoid what 2,000-plus years of organized religion have failed to do: bring peace. DANIEL P. DONOVAN  
Pleasantville, N.Y., Oct. 29, 1998

### In South Africa, A Defining Moment

To the Editor:

Re "South African Panel's Report on Truth and Reconciliation" (front page, Oct. 30): The report of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission is an original concept that has never been tried on a national scale in any country with problems that are comparable to those that South Africa has faced in its history.

Despite the political bickering that accompanied the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's final report, its release was in the end a confirmation that there would be an independent judiciary in South Africa, as well as a validation of the concept of a truth commission.

It was a defining point not only in African history but also in world history. COLIN MCCORD  
Maputo, Mozambique, Oct. 30, 1998

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Editorial Observer/GAIL COLLINS

## When a New York Tough Guy Feels Fear, He Just Has to Strike Out

If there is a definition of political panic, it's Senator Alfonse D'Amato running ads attacking an opponent for ethics violations. At a time in the election cycle when most candidates are reverting to "warm and fuzzy" pictures of their families, Mr. D'Amato has decided to bring up an 18-year-old charge that his opponent, Representative Charles Schumer, once put members of his Assembly staff to work on his first Congressional campaign.

This is like the pot calling the kettle a pot. Any half-conscious voter who hears talk about politicians' misusing their offices cannot help but recall Mr. D'Amato's old connection to a Nassau County kickback scheme or his brother Armand's writing letters on behalf of a lobbying client on the Senator's official stationery. Then there was the Puerto Rican developer who was charged with illegally funneling campaign contributions to Mr. D'Amato, and the Senate Ethics Committee investigation into said contributions that was stymied when nearly half the witnesses decided to plead the Fifth.

### Or how Al D'Amato discovered the ethics issue.

There was also the miraculous one-day profit of \$37,125 that Mr. D'Amato made on stock trades handled by a much-investigated securities firm. None of these misadventures led to criminal convictions, and Mr. Schumer's legal problems had an equally quiet ending. A Justice Department official named Rudolph Giuliani rejected the idea of indicting Mr. D'Amato. (Mr. Giuliani later became a friend of Mr. D'Amato, then an enemy of Mr. D'Amato and then a political ally. Truly, there are only four people in this world, and three of them are now the Mayor of New York.)

Since Mr. D'Amato has a dozen fishy stories in his background for Mr. Schumer's one, unleashing the ethics genie has to be one of the more peculiar political tactics of this elec-

tion year, right up there with the decision by a California Senate candidate, Matt Fong, to have his mom go on television and tell Barbara Boxer to stop picking on her son.

But this has not been a great campaign for Mr. D'Amato. His early assaults on Mr. Schumer as a liberal fell flat. The main effect of his attempts to depict the Brooklyn Congressman as an urban enemy of agriculture was that Mr. Schumer began wearing plaid shirts in his commercials.

Mid-campaign, the Senator hit on what looked like a more promising tactic, hammering away at Mr. Schumer's House attendance record. Mr. D'Amato worked that vein to the point of parody, and voters might well have inferred that he was running for re-election solely because his opponent failed to show up for a routine vote on safe mammogram equipment. Mr. Schumer was clearly thrown off stride, until he discovered how many non-critical but nonetheless resonant votes on the Nassau County Board of Supervisors Mr. D'Amato missed in 1990 when he was

first running for the Senate. ("Votes to Protect Seniors and Domestic Violence Victims!!!")

Somewhat, Mr. D'Amato had forgotten the most basic rule of modern campaigning, which is that the candidate must begin by searching his soul for sins on which the opposition could capitalize, and admit them first. Whatever the outcome on Tuesday, one result of this race has been to deflate the Senator's reputation as a killer campaigner. The truth is that Mr. D'Amato has made his career by running against different variations of a political marshmallow. The Democratic nominee six years ago was Attorney General Robert Abrams, a sweet man with the killer instincts of a hamster. The time before that, Mr. D'Amato's opponent was Mark Green, whose campaign had about as much money as a Russian pensioner. Meanwhile, between races, he forged non-aggression pacts against "high-profile Democrats with sharp tongues," like Edward Koch and Mario Cuomo.

Mr. D'Amato's first big race, the one that made his reputation, was

the 1980 campaign against Senator Jacob Javits and Representative Elizabeth Holtzman. He won the Republican primary against Mr. Javits with an infamous campaign in which he depicted Mr. Javits as an aging politician in poor health. That created the legend of Al D'Amato the ferocious attack dog. But Mr. Javits actually was in ill health, suffering from a fatal degenerative disease that took his life before the next Senate term was up. Ms. Holtzman was a woman of many fine qualities, none of which involved being a likeable politician. In the end, with Mr. Javits running on the Liberal line, Mr. D'Amato beat her with 45 percent of the vote.

As a campaigner, Mr. D'Amato's real strength is his shamelessness — he would take credit for the tide coming in — and his desperation. He gives the distinct impression that he would do anything for a vote, change his ideology, make funny faces, clean out your cellar. It is an unnerving, but rather compelling quality for New York voters, whose normal electoral choices involve a phlegmat-

ic incumbent and a sacrificial lamb opponent who is possibly under indictment or living in a different state. But Mr. Schumer, who would walk a mile barefoot to do a two-minute interview with a 100-watt radio station, is right up in Mr. D'Amato's league when it comes to manic self-promotion.

The Senator specializes in surprise last-minute surges in popularity, perhaps from supporters too embarrassed to tell pollsters they plan to vote for a man whose most memorable campaign quote was "putthead." But the fact that Mr. D'Amato is harping on Mr. Schumer's antique ethics charge at this late hour suggests he is worried that the hidden D'Amato voters might not surface this year.

### Election Endorsements

The full text of New York Times editorials endorsing candidates in Tuesday's elections can be found on the New York Times Web site, at [www.nytimes.com/endorse](http://www.nytimes.com/endorse).

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## THE ARTS

## Hollywood Is Now Playing Cowboys and Arabs

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

The Arab-American actor Sayed Badreya has had no problem finding work in Hollywood. With his dark beard and his accented English, he has had his pick of parts as terrorists, hijackers, kidnappers and Islamic militants.

"Usually I play the bad guy role, a terrorist or someone," Mr. Badreya said by telephone from Egypt, where he is on a film shoot with Al Pacino, playing the head of the military wing of Hezbollah.

"When I got to Hollywood, at first I couldn't get a lot of jobs," Mr. Badreya said. "So I grew a beard and look like a really bad Arab, and I started to get a lot of work because that's what they want."

After years of virtual invisibility, Arab-Americans are finding prominence in Hollywood movies — as terrorists and villains. They are only the latest in a long line of ethnic groups and nationalities cast in stereotypical bad-guy roles, from American Indians to Germans to Japanese to African Americans to Russians.

Each set of villains reflected the headlines and the anxieties of its era. Each passed into obscurity as the headlines changed. Now, with Soviet pretensions shattered and aliens from outer space passé, the new cinematic enemy is the Muslim extremist.

The latest film of this genre is "The Siege," which opens on Friday and stars Denzel Washington, Annette Bening and Bruce Willis. Trailers for "The Siege" reduced it to the typical terrorist scare-fare with exploding buses and shadowy images of men in mosques, but the full-length film is a cut above. "The Siege" posits the dangers to democracy and freedom when the United States military, in pursuit of a terrorist cell operating in New York City, imposes martial law and herds the entire Arab-American population of Brooklyn into a detention camp.

Despite this rather mixed portrayal of Arab-Americans as both victims and perpetrators, several anti-defamation organizations representing American Muslims and Arabs are undertaking a leaflet-distributing campaign outside theaters showing "The Siege." They point out that there is no avoiding the fact that its villains are Arabs who quote the Koran and perform ablutions before heading off to blow up innocent civilians. The anti-defamation groups' leaflets emphasize that Islam is a peaceful, monotheistic religion and invite moviegoers to attend open houses at local mosques.

The sensitivities of American Muslims and Arabs are so raw right now because "The Siege" follows a succession of more than a dozen films and made-for-television movies produced in the 1980's and 90's featuring murderous Muslim fanatics, among them "Executive Decision," "True Lies," "Voyage of Terror" and "Terrorist on Trial."

"The problem is, you take the lunatic fringe and make the lunatic fringe represent the majority," said Jack G. Shaheen, a professor emeritus of broadcast journalism at Southern Illinois University. "It would be like showing that every Catholic is an I.R.A. member, or every Jew was a member of the Kach party."

There are between four and six million Muslims living in the United States. Some are white or African American converts. Some are new immigrants. Many are first- and second-generation Americans striving for acceptance and success, much like the other ethnic groups who came before them.

The voices of the small circle of Muslims and Arab-Americans who work in Hollywood are rarely heard in the discussion about movie stereotypes. They have never formed any group to represent their concerns. But among them, while there is less outrage than that expressed by the anti-defamation groups based in Washington, there is more frustration. The Muslim actors and writers, and the sole identifiable Muslim director-producer, have an insider's perspective on the reasons their religion is so often stereotyped in Hollywood, and whether anything can be done about it.

They acknowledge that one reason Muslim terrorists have become frequent Hollywood fare is that terrorists who kill in the name of Islam are a genuine threat in international politics.

"We cannot say there are no Arab and no Muslim terrorists," said Moustapha Akkad, an Arab-American producer and director who was born in Syria and has worked in Hollywood for 45 years. "Of course there are."

"But at the same time, balance it with the image of the normal human being, the Arab-American, the family man," Mr. Akkad said.

Earlier in his career, Mr. Akkad

## In Hollywood, Arab-Americans are mostly cast as Muslim extremists.

produced and directed two films portraying Muslims as heroes. "The Message" (1977) told the story of the beginning of Islam, and "Lion of the Desert" (1981) starred Anthony Quinn as the real-life Bedouin leader Omar Mukhtar, who fought Mussolini's invading troops in the deserts of Libya.

But Mr. Akkad said that raising money for such films was difficult, and that to achieve financial success and creative freedom, he had had to turn to another genre. He is now better known as the executive producer of all seven movies in the "Halloween" horror series, the most recent, "Halloween H20," released in August.

And like many Muslims interviewed for this story, including the actor Mr. Badreya, Mr. Akkad is at work on a screenplay that he hopes will help contradict the stereotypes about Muslims. Mr. Akkad's project is about the Crusades.

Anyone acquainted with real Muslims and Arab-Americans living in this country knows that their lives are rich with potential plot lines: crises of faith, cross-cultural tensions, daughters and sons marrying outside the religion. These are some of the same dramatic themes often tapped in movies about Roman Catholics or Jews.

But J. D. Hall, an actor and scriptwriter who is Muslim, said: "I've never come across a script about Muslims where they weren't terrorists. Islam as a way of life, and the people that follow it — I've seen documentaries but never a dramatic adaptation involving that. My suspicion, based on experience, is that if you came up with something like that, you'd have a devil of a time getting it made because it doesn't involve hate."

Mr. Hall, an African American who has appeared in numerous black family sitcoms like "Fresh Prince of Bel Air," says that while African Americans have had a modest measure of success as writers and directors in Hollywood, Muslims and Arab-Americans are far behind.

"We don't have any political power in this country," Mr. Hall said of Muslims in America. "And we don't have the decision-making capacity in the motion picture industry, so we can't control our own image."

Though they hesitate to raise the issue, Muslims and Arabs in Hollywood say that the preponderance of powerful Jews in the movie industry is probably a factor in, but not the cause of, negative stereotypes of Muslims.

"I don't want to paint all Jews with one broad brush," said Mr. Hall. "But there's a Zionist element that is definitely against Islam, and to the degree you sympathize with that element, if you have the power to portray Muslims, that portrayal is not going to be favorable."

The more pervasive reason for stereotyping is that few Americans,



In "The Siege," martial law is declared in New York during a hunt for terrorists, and Arab-Americans are herded into a detention camp.

in Hollywood and elsewhere, have firsthand knowledge of Islam, say American Muslim leaders.

"It is not intentional," said Aslam Abdullah, the Los Angeles-based editor of Minaret Magazine, who recently helped found a Muslim resource center for filmmakers. "It is primarily ignorance."

The most obvious evidence of ignorance is that many movies and television shows, and undoubtedly many Americans, make the mistake of equating Arabs with Muslims. In fact, only about 12 percent of the world's Muslims are Arabs. Far more Muslims live in Malaysia, Indonesia and India than in the Middle East. And most Americans wrongly assume that, conversely, all Arabs are Muslims. The truth is that many Arabs, particularly Palestinians, Lebanese and Egyptians, are Christians. Of the three million or so Arab-Americans in the United States, a large majority are Christians.

The outlook for Arabs and Muslims in Hollywood is not all bleak. Even Mr. Badreya, so often cast as a terrorist, played a heroic Arab pilot in 1996's "Independence Day." And a handful of Arab-American and Muslim actors whose skin tone and accent allow them to "pass" have consistently avoided being typecast as terrorists.

F. Murray Abraham, who received an Academy Award for his portrayal of Salieri in "Amadeus" (1984) is among them. (Early in his career, Mr. Abraham dropped his first name "Fabrizio" to avoid being typecast "as a sour Arab out to kill everyone," he once told an interviewer.) An Orthodox Christian, Mr. Abraham is the son of a Syrian father and an Italian-American mother.

Tony Shalhoub, an American of Lebanese heritage, has played a Russian, a Jew, several Italians (he was the hapless cab driver on NBC's "Wings") and the temperamental Italian chef in "Big Night" and many nondescript Caucasian Americans. When he first began acting, he was offered roles as a terrorist, he said in an interview. But "once you start turning them down," he added, "they stop calling with those roles."

One twist in the controversy over "The Siege" is that the film offered Mr. Shalhoub a sophisticated and nuanced role as an Arab-American. Mr. Shalhoub plays Frank Haddad, an

F.B.I. agent whose loyalty to the United States is tested when his son is among those rounded up for detention.

Edward Zwick, the director of "The Siege," pointed out that Haddad is "the single-minded character in this movie."

"He's the only one with whom we even imagine a life, see him at home, with his family. He is not gratuitous or token at all."

In interviews, both Mr. Zwick and Lawrence Wright, the film's principal screenwriter, defended the Arab-terrorist scenario of "The Siege" as

legitimate and, judging from recent headlines, even prescient.

"Were there a story about Baruch Goldstein," Mr. Zwick said, referring to an Israeli militant who murdered 29 Muslims in Hebron in 1994, "and an attack on the mosques, and about Jewish fundamentalism, I would tell that story too. I would not believe that that depiction is inflammatory by talking about marginal characters."

Mr. Wright, a journalist who has traveled in the Middle East and worked in Cairo as a conscientious objector during the Vietnam war,

said: "If I had felt 'The Siege' was anti-Arab, I would have taken my name off of it."

Of the criticism from Arab and Muslim anti-defamation groups, Mr. Wright said: "I understand their anxiety and paranoia about the way Hollywood has depicted Muslims and Arabs. They're absolutely right. Arabs have been scapegoated. It's disgraceful."

"And yet that's just what this movie is about," he said. "It's all about what happens when you blame a group for the violence of individuals."

## INSIDERS

By ROBERT MALINOW / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

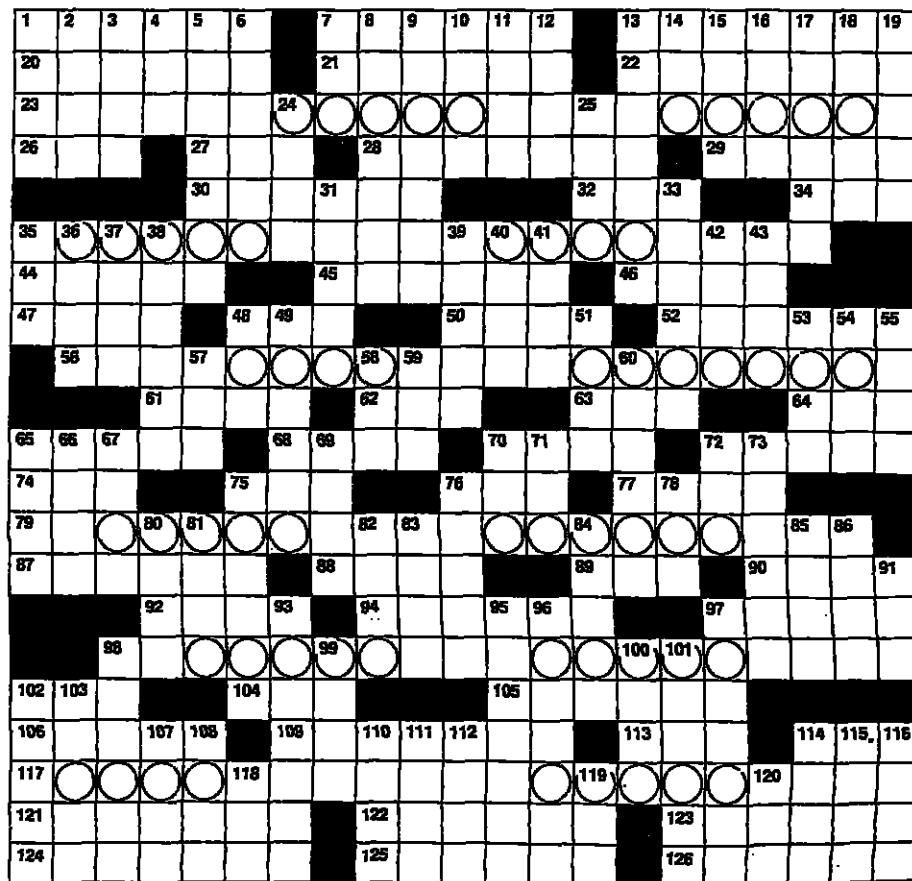
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- 42 Joyful dance
- 43 Sidi —, Morocco
- 48 U.S.M.C. one-striper
- 49 Clever
- 51 Campus building
- 53 Shelley's eyes
- 54 Pastoral expenses
- 55 "Saving Private Ryan" re-enactment
- 57 Have a date
- 58 Syndicate head
- 59 Cabinet part, briefly
- 60 Antipasto ingredient
- 65 Stevedore
- 66 Cry after a coin flip
- 67 Witnesses
- 69 Sitters' headaches
- 70 Kind of wheel
- 71 Let go
- 72 Toots
- 73 Newly made
- 75 Ristorante desserts
- 76 Follows
- 78 Montague's opposite
- 80 The Wizard's unveiler
- 81 Emerald and ruby
- 82 Not 62-Across
- 83 "The Alienist" author
- 84 Explorer Amundsen
- 85 Timothy Leary, to some
- 86 Desert dignitary
- 91 Capital of Poland?
- 93 Shut off
- 95 1964 Manfred Mann hit
- 96 Body
- 97 Contract tactic
- 98 See 17-Down
- 99 Medallion meat
- 100 Best part
- 101 Transported
- 102 Old manuscript marks
- 103 Prepare to check E-mail, perhaps
- 107 Was at the forum?
- 108 Faulkner's — Rivers
- 110 Radiator sound
- 111 Job legislation estab. in 1973
- 112 From
- 114 Post Dove
- 115 Mental
- 116 The Platters' "It — Right"
- 118 Canoodle
- 119 Kamote of reggae
- 120 Missive: Abbr.

## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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ASSES ERE TULE TVEA  
OTRA QUEST ANTE  
WITCHESBROCK ASSURES  
AVAILANCE VON PART LEVI  
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DOH DUD EAR MEDOC  
DIO GRAVERATTER OHS  
INSTEP IEB HENS KHEEL  
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RIS DOTITE PEIK  
SUNGO SIFAR DIA SHADS  
SATALE SARTINGHERAGE  
OVERDO RHOSE STREPLE  
BARRER REINES SYSTER



"True Lies" (1994), starring Arnold Schwarzenegger, left, Art Malik and Jamie Lee Curtis.



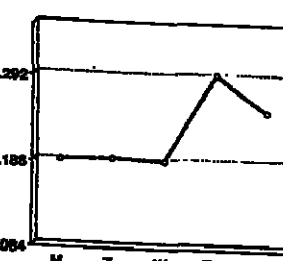
Monday,  
November 2, 1998

# BUSINESS & FINANCE

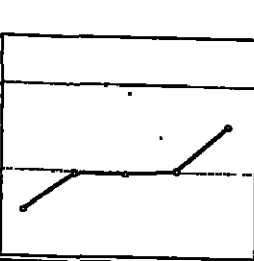
## MARKETS

in brief

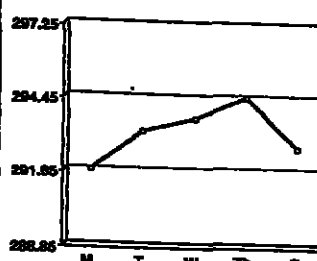
DOLLAR / SHEKEL



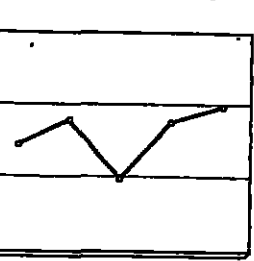
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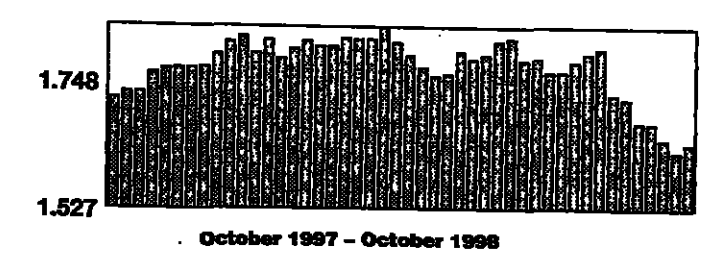
GOLD  
\$ per ounce



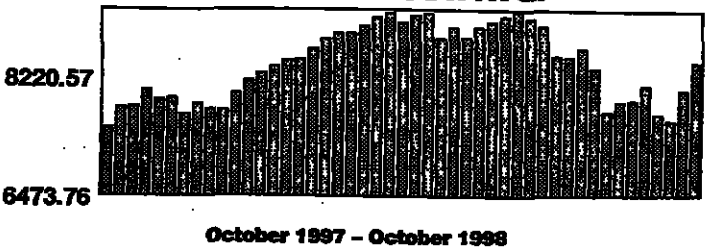
OIL  
\$ per barrel of Brent crude



DOLLAR / DEUTSCHEMARK



DOW JONES INDUST. AVG.



### Oct. forex reserves up \$129m.

Israel's foreign currency reserves rose \$129 million in October to \$21.84 billion, the Bank of Israel said yesterday.

The central bank attributed the rise to an increase in the bank's income which was partly offset by government activities. The foreign currency market was very active in October as the shekel depreciated 10.5 percent against the dollar and 11.7% against the currency basket. Since the beginning of the year the shekel has lost 24.71% against the dollar and 28.7% against the basket.

The rise in foreign currency reserves indicates that the Bank of Israel continued its policy of not intervening in currency trading despite rumors that the bank already has started doing so in an attempt to prevent a further decline of the shekel. *Dan Gerstenfeld*

### Cial reduces holdings in Gilat

Cial Electronic Industries, a subsidiary of Cial Industries, yesterday announced that it has sold shares in Gilat Satellite Networks for some NIS 88 million, representing a capital gain of NIS 43m. Following the sale Cial said it reduced its holdings to 3.5 percent. Cial purchased 7.6% of Gilat at the beginning of the year after the company's shares fell some 40% on fears of the possible impact of the Asian turmoil. The sale marks a change in Cial's investment policies as in the past it refrained from short-term financial investments. *Dan Gerstenfeld*

## '98 tax returns NIS 8b. short

Income Tax Commissioner Levy: Property-related taxes down 15%

By DAVID ZEV HARRIS

The government's internal revenues will this year show an NIS 8 billion shortfall "at the very least," according to Treasury State Revenues head Tsipi Galyam.

Meanwhile, taxation from real estate during the first 10 months was down some 15 percent compared to last year, Income Tax Commissioner Doron Levy said yesterday. The two were speaking to reporters immediately after addressing the Knesset Finance Committee as it begins its annual two-month deliberation on the state budget.

The NIS 8b. shortfall is an estimate for the entire year, but was made prior to the recent depreciation in the shekel, Galyam said, which means the final shortfall could be considerably higher.

Of the total, some NIS 4.7b. is offset by a reduction in government expenditure in the wake of the economic slowdown, while the remainder is principally the result of a lack of activity in the construction industry and a substantial fall in the number of vehicle imports.

"Activity in tax-intensive areas is actually contracting," Galyam said. "We are short of taxes, but despite that the budget deficit will end the year in line with the target."

Levy told MKs the depreciation of the shekel over the last two months is likely to

have a considerable effect on state revenues. This could be felt in either the present or coming financial years, and possibly in both.

"The effect of the depreciation is showing up in the increase of expenditure funding among companies that have taken foreign currency loans," Levy said. Such companies already are asking permission from the Income Tax Commission to reduce their advance tax payments, given that profits next year are likely to be detrimentally affected by the depreciation.

"We could see this during the current year in the form of reduced advanced payments, or next year in terms of tax returns [from the commission to the companies]," Levy said.

"I can't estimate how large the effect will be but there certainly will be one."

Levy added that revenues from property-related taxes were down 15% or NIS 31 million between January and October compared to the same period last year. The Treasury's estimate was, in fact, for the taxes to rise 6% this year, meaning a shortfall compared to the forecast is excess of NIS 400m.

On the positive side, Levy stressed that revenues from income tax were up 2.4%, (NIS 930m., over the first 10 months, despite the fact that the original prediction was for 3% growth this year, and in fact it is heading for some 1.5-1.6%.

## Market mayhem yet to impact high tech

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Venture capital funds' investments in high-tech companies have not declined so far in the wake of the recent global market turbulence, according to Orna Berry, chief scientist at the Industry and Trade Ministry.

Speaking yesterday to *The Jerusalem Post*, Berry added that while investments remain stable, entrepreneurs now have to wait longer to get money, as investors have become selective.

"Today if you got an idea you need deeper pockets," Berry said. "There is no seed money now."

Local venture capital funds have already finished the second round of raising money and have enough capital for investments until the year 2000, according to Berry.

She added that investors are currently focusing on companies with clear technological advantages, which can differentiate them from other companies that can grow by cooperating with leading global institutions.

The number of local start-up companies which actually survive after five years is larger than their counterparts in Silicon Valley, but the growth rate of local companies is much lower than that of US-based companies, she said.

Berry attributed the lower growth rate to the fact that Israeli firms are operating far from their target market.

In recent months more companies have been formed which are based on research done in universities, she added.



North Korea courts Hyundai

North Korean leader Kim Jong Il (left), Hyundai Group chairman Chung Ju-yung (center), and Hyundai Construction Company head Chung Mong-hun pose before their meeting in Pyongyang on Friday. The Hyundai founder returned to Seoul with business deals totaling \$906 million. (AP)

## G-7 stimulus plan thin on detail

LONDON (Reuters) - Plans by top industrial nations to "halt" the financial crisis and bolster the global economic system are unlikely to have much lasting market impact until more is known about how this enormous task will be achieved, analysts said.

The Group of Seven on Friday said it aims to curb market turmoil by keeping a tighter check on short-term money flows and creating a \$90 billion crisis-prevention fund.

Improved financial sector regulation and transparency would be introduced to prevent future crises from spiraling out of control.

Analysts yesterday said the plan, although in theory full of good ideas, remained desperately thin on detail, and individual countries' policies would be the driver of sentiment and stability for the time being.

"The G7 may be committed to

create strong domestic demand growth and a code of conduct on monetary and fiscal policy, but the markets will justifiably question whether this amounts to any viable preventative measures," Paribas analysts said in a report.

"After all, if some of the world's finest financial market brains can get it so spectacularly wrong, it is hard to see how a group of elected non-specialists can individually or collectively guarantee salvation," the report said.

The 10-page G7 document, the result of weeks of phone calls and behind-the-scenes negotiations spearheaded by British Finance Minister Gordon Brown, pledged to make use of \$90b. in new money for the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

### ANALYSIS

The first recipient of IMF funds is expected to be Brazil, which is thought to be in line for a \$30b. international financial package led by the IMF.

Brazilian shares ended up 7.8% on Friday, but its currency weakened on capital outflows.

Stock markets around the world were also slightly firmer after the G7 plan was released.

Analysts said market stability seen over the past few weeks was enhanced by the G7 plan, partly because it relieved fears that governments might try to restrict capital flows.

"The G7 statement is unlikely to have any lasting impact on the market," said Lorenzo Codogno, senior economist at Bank of America in London.

"Although an agreement on the announced measures has been reached, time is necessary to fully understand whether it can feasibly translate into concrete actions. The communique is somewhat vague," he said.

The G7 has been working on restoring confidence for several months to prevent a rerun of the crisis that started last year in Asia and swiftly swept around the world, threatening a global credit crunch and worldwide recession.

## Expert: Low quality costs economy \$15b.

By JUDY SIEGEL

A quarter of the nation's production - totalling \$15 billion - goes down the drain each year due to waste and low quality, according to Avigdor Zonnenshein, director of the ISI's quality and conformity branch.

Zonnenshein, an expert at the Israel Standards Institution (ISI), based his claims on research conducted recently at the Hebrew University and University of

Haifa. He spoke ahead of the 12th International Congress on Quality, to be held next month at the Jerusalem International Convention Center, with 3,000 Israeli and 300 foreign experts due to attend.

The "worst" sector regarding quality control has been construction, he said.

Half of all expenditures go to waste because contractors and workers are unable to meet their deadlines; poor construction has to be demolished and then rebuilt; and customers complain

about poor quality and demand repairs.

The ISI is currently preparing a survey of the cost of poor quality, especially regarding insulation in public buildings and private residences.

Health is the second-most-wasteful sector, with 35% of expenditures wasted because of repeated hospitalization of patients discharged prematurely or inadequately treated, superfluous medications prescribed, and people who die because of inadequate medical follow-up, he said.

## Germany mulls higher deficit

BONN (Reuters) - German Finance Minister Oskar Lafontaine has left open the possibility of raising the 1999 federal deficit if there is a sharp slowdown in the economy.

In an interview with the weekly *Der Spiegel* to be published today, Lafontaine said fiscal policy must take into account cyclical swings in the economy, but remained evasive about the deficit.

"We will observe global economic developments over the next few months and then in the spring present and pass our draft," he said.

"Supporters of the government that was voted out of office call for

responding with budget cuts, even in the event that the economy really turns down," he said. "That would be a serious mistake."

Separately, *Der Spiegel* reported that the center-left coalition of the

SPD and ecologist Greens expects a significant worsening of public finances and a rise in the deficit.

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**STOCKS**

Koor rose for the seventh straight day after ECI Telecom Ltd in which it owns a 19 per cent

EMI enables borrowers to take loans comprising 80 percent of a property's price without securing guarantors. The policy protects the bank in case of default.

### GENERAL ASSISTANCE

**ISRAEL MON**  
 - Patah (foreign currency)  
 Currency (deposit for): 3 MO

Naimi said "we hope to continue with the dialogue and to succeed in persuading the consumer states with the point of view of the oil producers and viceversa."

(Bloomberg)

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)  
**Sheket Foreign Exchange Rates\* (30.10.98)**

\*These rates vary according to bank. \*\*Bank of Israel.

General	1378	0
Hotel Warrant 1	297	0
Hotel Bond A	350	1
Hotel	180	0
Hotel	437	0
Hotel	190	23
Hotel	166	0
Hotel Holdings	54.5	0
Hotel Bond B	85.7	0
Hotel Warrant 2	54	0
Hotel	108.8	0
Hotel	144	0
Hotel Holdings	19	0
Hotel Bond A	147	0

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Isaaks, paintings; Isaac Isaaks;  
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ter Abtagon Bond B	128.5	0
ter Inc. Bond A	70	0
ter Inc. Warrant 1	3.8	0
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er Holdings	14720	0
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er	340	0
er	330	0
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**KARAM**  
SMALL CAPITALIZATION  
TAX ISSUES

[illegible]

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Intercom	700	0
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**"True Lies" (1994), starring Arnold Schwarzenegger**

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# Texas halts 'Husker home streak

Heisman hopeful Williams sparks Longhorns; UMich wins Little Brown Jug

COLUMBIA, SC (AP) — Texas took two giant steps forward, Nebraska took one backward.

Ricky Williams ran for 150 yards and Major Applewhite threw a 2-yard touchdown pass with 2:47 left as the revived Longhorns stunned No. 7 Nebraska 20-16 Saturday — ending the Huskers' 47-game home winning streak.

The Huskers are in shock in coach Frank Solich's first season after replacing Tom Osborne. Not only have they lost two games in a season, but it looks like they no longer can dominate teams like they used to.

"It does hurt for our players, without question," Solich said. "No one wants to have a streak come to an end. They're taking it very, very hard."

For Texas, the win gives new coach Mack Brown the big lift he needs to gain the support of the Longhorn faithful. And, it enhances Williams' bid to win the Heisman Trophy.

Texas (6-2, 4-1 Big 12) handed Nebraska (7-2, 3-2) its first home loss since September 21, 1991, when Washington won 36-21.

Williams' 150 yards was the most Nebraska has allowed an opposing runner since Barry Sanders ran for 189 yards in 1988, the year the Oklahoma State star won the Heisman.

Texas beat Nebraska 37-27 in the 1996 Big 12 title game the last time the teams played.

Williams needed 37 carries to pick up his 150 yards — moving him within 294 of breaking Tony Dorsett's major college career rushing mark of 6,082 yards. Williams had 82 yards in the first quarter.

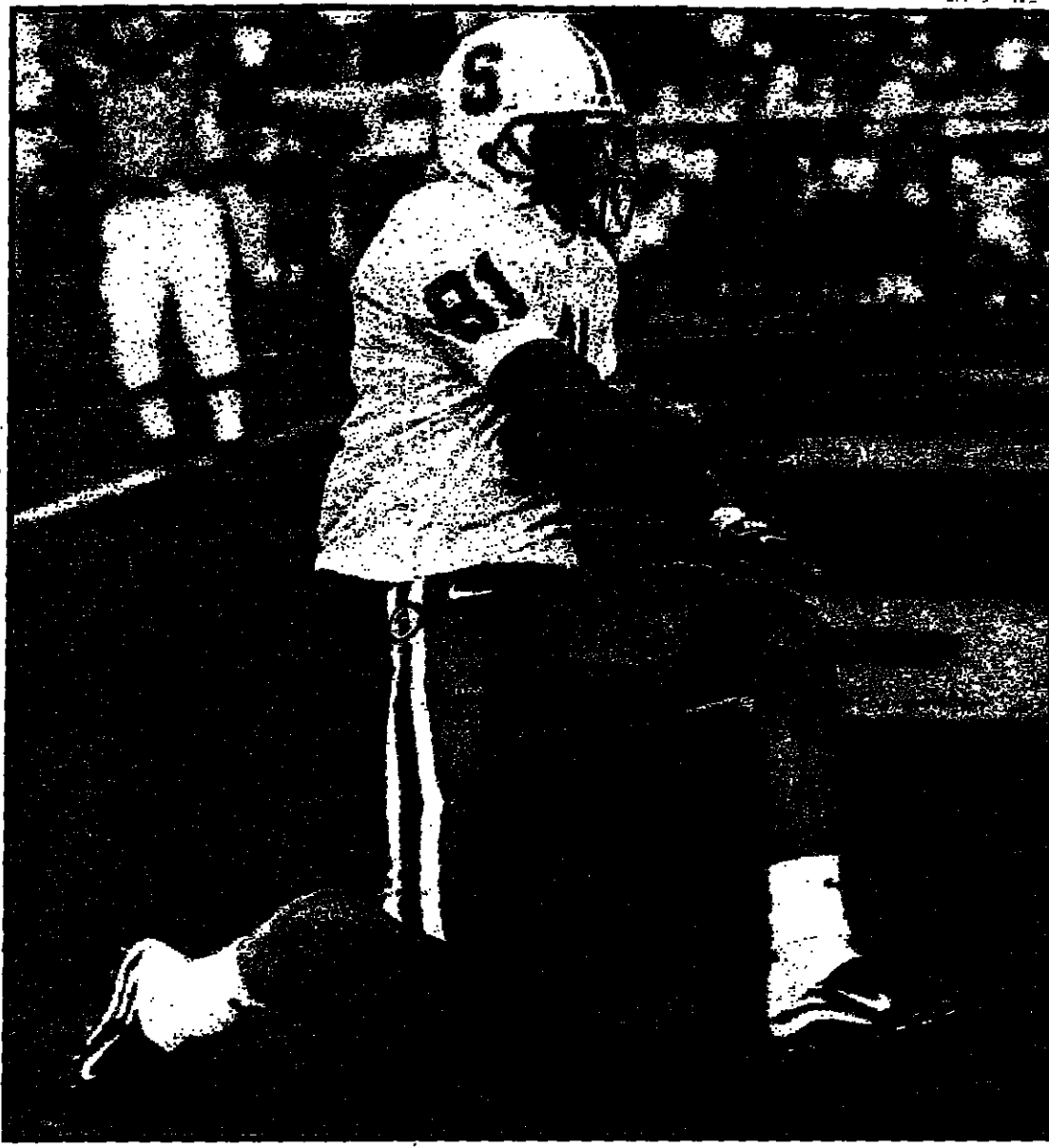
No. 1 Ohio St. 38, Indiana 7  
David Boston returned a punt 70 yards for a TD and caught two touchdown passes for the visiting Buckeyes (8-0, 5-0 Big Ten).

No. 2 UCLA 28, Stanford 24  
The host Bruins (7-0, 5-0 Pac-10) narrowly extended the nation's longest winning streak to 17 games as Cade McNown threw for 254 yards and a TD.

Keith Brown and DeShaun Foster scored fourth-quarter TDs as UCLA rallied for the win.

No. 3 Tenn 49, S Carolina 14  
Tee Martin set three NCAA records as he completed 23 of 24 passes for 315 yards and four touchdowns for the visiting Volunteers.

No. 4 Kansas St. 54, Kansas 6  
At Lawrence, Michael Bishop



**HIGH STEPPIN'** — Stanford WR Dave Davis reaches the end zone in second-quarter action against No. 2 UCLA. The Bruins won 28-24.

scored two TDs and had 320 all-purpose yards as the Wildcats moved to 8-0 for the first time in their history.

No. 5 Fla St 39, NC Carolina 13  
Chris Weinke passed for 338 yards and two TDs as host Florida State (8-1, 5-1 ACC) won its seventh straight game.

No. 6 Fla 38, No. 11 Georgia 7  
Doug Johnson threw for two first-quarter touchdowns, ran for another and caught a TD pass as the host Gators avenged last year's loss to the Bulldogs.

No. 8 Texas A&M 17, Okla St. 6  
Chris Taylor caught a TD pass and set up another score with a

long kickoff return for visiting Texas A&M (8-1, 5-0 Big 12). The Aggies won their eighth straight despite losing tailback Dante Hall and quarterback Randy McCown to shoulder injuries.

No. 10 Penn St. 27, Illinois 0  
Kevin Thompson (19-of-26 for 269 yards) set up two TDs with long passes to Chafie Fields and threw a 10-yard score to Corey Jones — all in the first half — for the host Nittany Lions (6-1, 3-1 Big Ten).

No. 13 Arizona 38  
No. 12 Oregon 3  
Trung Canidate ran 71 yards for a TD and finished with 180 yards

on 17 carries as Arizona (8-1, 4-1 Pac-10) scored TDs on its first four possessions of the second half for a home win.

No. 14 Arkansas 24  
Auburn 21  
The visiting Razorbacks (7-0, 4-0 SEC) overcame five turnovers and held on against the Tigers (2-6, 1-5) when Eric Branch scored the go-ahead TD on a 14-yard run in the third quarter.

No. 15 Virginia 38  
Wake Forest 17  
Thomas Jones rushed for 142 yards and a TD as the visiting Cavaliers (7-1, 5-1 ACC) beat the Demon Deacons for the 15th

straight time.

No. 16 Notre Dame 27  
Baylor 3  
Antony Denson rushed for a career-best 189 yards and a touchdown as host Notre Dame (6-1) topped Baylor (2-6).

No. 17 Syracuse 45  
Pittsburgh 28  
The host Orangemen (5-2, 3-0 Big East) started slowly but Donovan McNabb threw for two TDs, ran for another and finished with 326 all-purpose yards.

No. 18 Missouri 28  
Texas Tech 26  
Devin West ran for 133 yards and three TDs for visiting Missouri (6-2, 2-1 Big 12).

No. 19 Tulane 72  
Southwestern Louisiana 20  
Shaun King threw for 380 yards and three TDs as the host Green Wave (7-0) are off to their best start in 67 years.

No. 20 Va Tech 27  
No. 21 W Virginia 13  
Ike Charlton intercepted three passes, the defense made two goal-line stands and Al Clark threw two TD passes in his first start in six weeks for the host Hokies (7-1, 4-1 Big East).

No. 22 Michigan 15  
Minnesota 10  
The visiting Wolverines (6-2, 5-0 Big Ten) won their sixth straight game and a 12th consecutive Little Brown Jug with another strong defensive effort.

Michigan broke a 10-10 tie when James Hall sacked Billy Cockerham in the end zone for a safety early in the fourth quarter. Tai Streets had six catches for 192 yards, including a 76-yard TD grab in the first half, for the Wolverines.

No. 23 Georgia Tech 31  
Maryland 14  
At Baltimore, Dez White returned a kickoff 100 yards and Joe Burns' 44-yard TD run sparked a second-half surge for the Yellow Jackets (6-2, 5-1 ACC).

Burns carried 20 times for 179 yards — 146 in the second half — as Georgia Tech pulled away from a 14-14 halftime tie with the Terrapins (2-6, 0-5).

No. 25 Miami 35  
Boston College 17  
Edgerrin James had two TD runs in a 21-point first quarter and finished with 182 yards as the host Hurricanes beat the Eagles (3-5, 2-3 Big East).

James scored on runs of 2 and 1 yards as Miami (5-2, 3-1) scored on its first three possessions.

# Salo's saves topple Flyers



as the New York Islanders beat the Philadelphia Flyers, 3-2 on Saturday.

Ken Belanger and Mike Watt also scored for the Islanders, 5-0-1 in their last six home games against the Flyers. Valeri Zelepukin and Mike Maneluk scored for Philadelphia.

Devils 3, Panthers 1  
Dave Andreychuk scored two power-play goals as New Jersey won at home.

Denis Pederson also scored for New Jersey, 4-1-0 in its last five games after starting the season 1-3-0. Devils backup Chris Tereri made 16 saves for his second victory of the season.

Ray Whitney scored for Florida, coming off a 7-3 victory Friday night in Chicago. Kirk McLean made 25 saves for the Panthers.

Hurricanes 2, Bruins 0  
Arturs Irbe made 34 saves for his second shutout of the season as Carolina won on the road.

Irbe, signed as a free agent during the offseason, lowered his NHL-best goals-against average to 0.76 with his 15th career shutout.

Gary Roberts opened the scoring at 5:32 of the first period, and Ray Sheppard added an empty-net goal.

Senators 5, Canadiens 1  
Shawn McEachern scored twice and Alexei Yashin had his first goal of the season in Ottawa's home victory.

Andreas Johansson and Radek Bonk also scored for the Senators. Ron Tugnutt made 27 saves, allowing only Mark Recchi's third-period goal.

Stars 3, Red Wings 2  
Brett Hull scored two goals, including the tie-breaker with 6:00 left, as host Dallas beat two-time defending Stanley Cup champion Detroit in a rematch of last season's Western Conference finals.

Jere Lehtinen added a goal and an assist, and Mike Modano had two assists as the Stars overcame a two-goal first-period deficit. Ed Belfour made 22 saves to help Dallas improve to 6-0-1 at home this season.

Kirk Maltby and Steve Yzerman scored for Detroit.

Mighty Ducks 2, Blues 2  
Defenseman Al MacInnis scored on a power play with 12:36 left in regulation as St. Louis rallied to tie the visiting Anaheim.

MacInnis scored his sixth goal of the season on a slap shot from just inside the blue line. Scott Young also scored for the Blues.

Team Selanne and Paul Kariya scored for Anaheim, 3-0-3 in its last six games. Both Mighty Ducks stars have six goals this season.

Predators 3, Avalanche 2  
Andrew Brunette beat visiting Colorado goalie Patrick Roy with a backhand shot at 8:51 of the third period as Nashville won consecutive games for the first time in its nine-game history.

Sebastien Bordeleau and Greg Johnson also scored for the Predators (3-5-1). Shean Donovan and Valeri Kamensky scored for the Avalanche (2-6-1).

Sabres 6, Maple Leafs 3  
Geoff Sanderson scored three goals as Buffalo won at home.

Miroslav Satan, Michael Peca and Alexei Zhilnik also scored for the Sabres, 4-1 winners over the Maple Leafs on Friday night in Buffalo. Steve Sullivan, Mike Johnson and Igor Korolev scored for Toronto.

Sharks 6, Lightning 1  
Ron Sutter scored his first two goals of the season as host San Jose ended a season-opening eight-game winless streak.

Murray Craven, Patrick Marleau, Marco Sturm and Mike Rathje also scored for the Sharks (1-6-2). Mike Vernon made 20

saves for the victory.

Vincent Lecavlier scored for Tampa Bay.

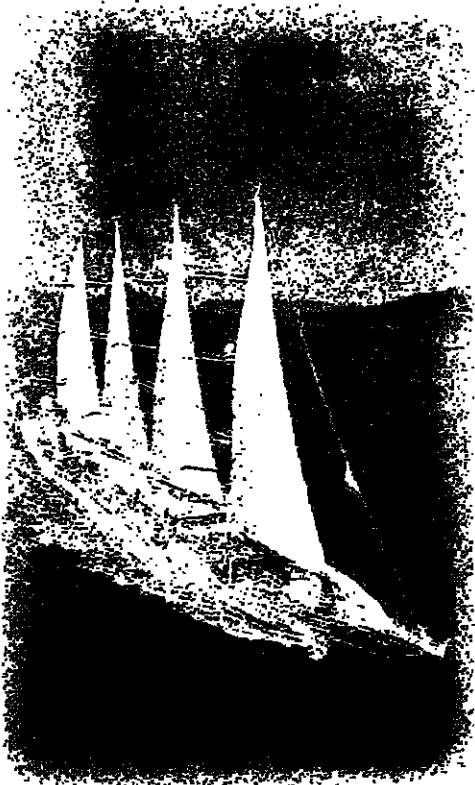
Others 4, Penguins 1  
Kevin Brown and Boyd Devereaux scored in a 60-second span in the first period as Edmonton won at home.

Andrei Kovalenko and Mike O'Leary added goals to help the Oilers (5-4-0) move into first place in the Northwest Division.

Bob Essensa made 21 saves, allowing only Rob Brown's second-period goal.

Standings, box scores: Page 21

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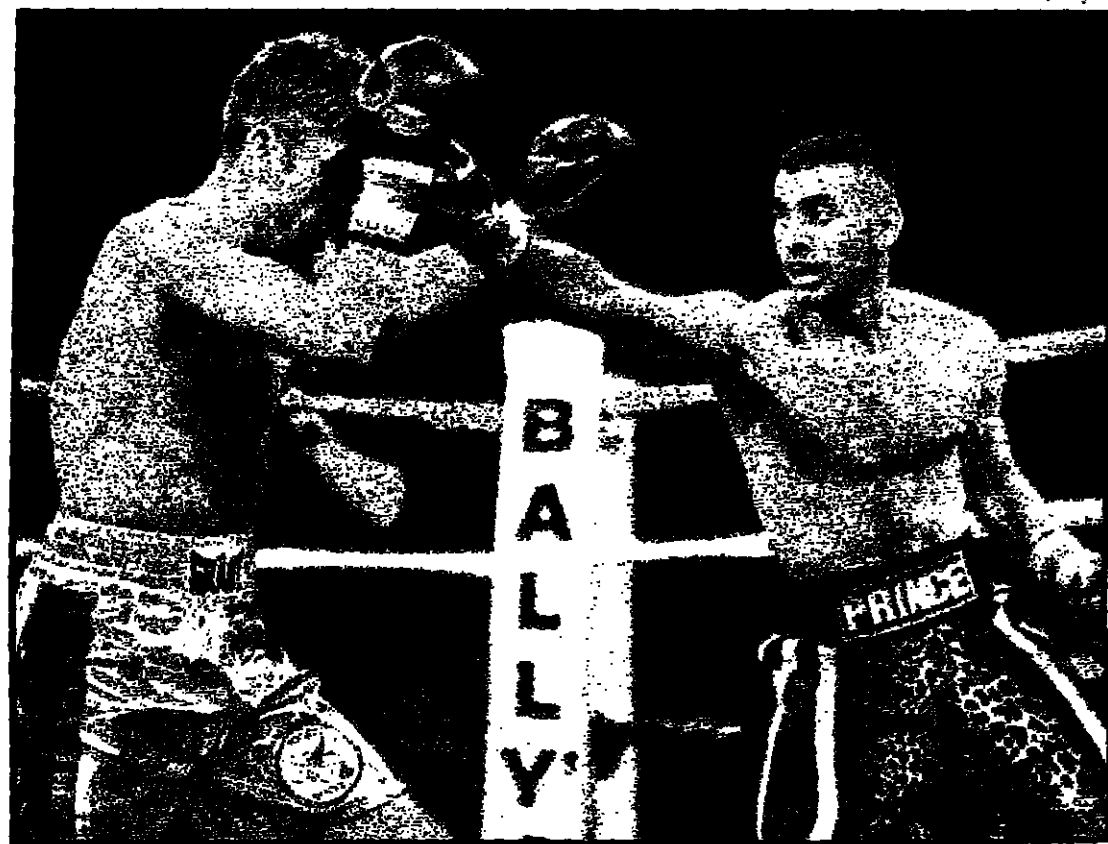
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**THE RIGHT STUFF** — Featherweight champion Prince Naseem Hamed of Britain delivers a right to Northern Ireland's Wayne McCullough during sixth-round action. Hamed retained his title with a 12-round unanimous decision.

## The Prince defends crown, stays unbowed

ATLANTIC CITY (AP) — The biggest mouth in boxing since Muhammad Ali almost had to eat his words for the first time. But he stayed unbeaten.

WBO featherweight champion Prince Naseem Hamed, the boastful Brit with the 30-fight winning streak, couldn't make good on his promise to knock out Wayne McCullough in the third round Saturday.

He needed all 12 rounds to score a unanimous decision over the scrappy Irishman, who tagged him several times with hard rights but could never knock him down or put him in serious danger.

"He was quite strong," Hamed said. "I tried to knock him out in the third round. What can I say? He's got a hard head."

He's Irish, you know. Hamed danced and weaved his way to the victory, but was on the receiving end of more than a few boos because of his attitude.

Judge John Stewart had it 118-110, judge Nelson Vazquez 117-111 and judge Clark Sammartino 116-112 for Hamed. The AP had Hamed winning 116-111.

A 5-1 favorite, he kept McCullough at bay with his bizarre tactics but never knocked him down or seriously hurt him. In fact, Hamed (31-0) spent much more time clowning than he did punching.

McCullough, of Belfast, Northern Ireland, was the aggressor throughout, but he couldn't hurt Hamed either. Cheered on by more than 1,000 flag-waving

Irishmen who made the trip, he sustained some solid shots and connected on some of his own.

Hamed hit on 46 percent of his 742 punches, to 23 percent for McCullough, who threw 740, according to CompuBox Inc. punch statistics.

On the undercard of the fight, which was televised by HBO, IBF junior featherweight champion Vuyani Bungu of South Africa retained his title with a 12-round majority decision over Danny Romero of Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Hamed, 24, of Sheffield, England, promised an early finish to the "Fright Night" card at Convention Hall. But his prediction — a knockout at 2:28 of the third round — never happened.

Playing no defense whatsoever, throwing punches from the bottom of his trunks and switching from left-handed to right-handed on whims, Hamed was booed heartily by the crowd of 8,138 for his inactivity in the seventh round.

"It was wilded by God to go 12 rounds and it went 12 rounds," Hamed said. "I'm still the best lightweight in the world. He took a beating. Look at his face and look at mine. I won easy."

McCullough, 28, who fights out of Las Vegas, was a silver medalist in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics. He is 22-2, with the only other defeat a 12-round decision at the hands of Daniel Zaragoza in January 1997.







